synthesis of portuguese culture

HISTORY OF MUSIC

Rui Vieira Nery
Paulo Ferreira de Castro

COMISSARIADO PARA A EUROPÁLIA 91 — PORTUGAL
IMPRENSA NACIONAL - CASA DA MOEDA

INCM IMPRENSA NACIONAL-CASA DA MOEDA, E. P.
LISBOA – PORTO – COIMBRA

INCM IMPRENSA NACIONAL-CASA DA MOEDA, E. P.

Ref.ª 220031/000

Titulo History of Music

Editor

____/____/____ Preço 1.785$00

MOD. 1-SLC-I

EUROPALIA
91
PORTUGAL

synthesis of portuguese culture

HISTORY OF MUSIC

Rui Vieira Nery
Paulo Ferreira de Castro

COMISSARIADO PARA A EUROPÁLIA 91 — PORTUGAL
IMPRENSA NACIONAL - CASA DA MOEDA

Translation
by Kenneth Frazer

In Memory
of João de Freitas Branco
(1922-1989)

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the appearance of the História da Música Portuguesa, *written by João de Freitas Branco in 1959, no other global analysis has been published about the evolution and development of Music in Portugal from the medieval times until today.*

Such a situation contrasts with the considerable progress that took place in the last three decades in the field of music research, thanks to which we do have today a large number of modern editions of Portuguese Music from the XVI to the XVIII centuries, as well as considerable biobibliographic data about the Portuguese musicians of the present and of the past.

The absence of a tradition of systematic synthesis and reflection about the History of Portuguese Music resulted in such research being made in an unbalanced way, thus maintaining several gaps and omissions in the knowledge of the different periods and genres.

The nature of the present work represents, above all, a synthesis with the aim of pin-pointing the main problems at stake and endeavours not only to outline the main trends of the evolution of Portuguese Music, but also to propose operational models for its interdisciplinary framing in the more global context of the History of Portuguese Culture. We made it in the full awareness that, in some cases, the gaps of the information and data available convert the hipothesis we present here into mere theoretical working proposals that should necessarily be tested and reviewed as the research progresses in the different fields.

The present work finishes with an up-dated bibliography, which includes not only all the titles quoted in the body of the text, but also a wide choice of publications considered to be essential references for the reader who wishes to consolidate and make a profound study of this subject. It is not, however, an exhaustive bibliography, as references to some of the oldest works were omitted whenever their contribution has been incorporated in more recent global studies.

The authors wish to thank the invaluable contribution of Professor Manuel Morais, of the National Music Conservatory, of Professors Dr. Manuel Carlos de Brito and Dr. Mário Vieira de Carvalho, of the Department of Music Sciences of the New University of Lisbon, and also of Dr. Isabel Freire de Andrade, Director of the Department of Music of the Portuguese Institute of Cultural Patrimony.

Lisbon, January 1991.

Rui Vieira Nery
Paulo Ferreira de Castro

PART ONE

Rui Vieira Nery

1.

FROM THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD TO THE RENAISSANCE

2.

THE MANNERIST PERIOD

3.

THE BAROQUE PERIOD

CHAPTER I

FROM THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD TO THE RENAISSANCE

1.1 — The Medieval Antecedents

THE LITURGICAL MUSICAL ORGANIZATION

Any attempt at a historical synthesis of Portuguese medieval music begins with various difficulties, of which the main ones are without doubt the scarcity of the practical musical sources which have reached us from this period and the weakness of the musicological studies so far made of them. Our knowledge of the musical life of Medieval Portugal thus continues to be mainly based on literary and documentary sources of a general historical nature that describe the basic political institutional evolution in the context of which Music happened and in which there are occasional sporadic references to Portuguese Music and musicians.

As happened in all Western Europe, amongst us the practice of erudite music survived the fall of the Roman Empire especially in the context of Christian liturgical music. The dismantling of the Empire and the political and military instability which followed until the inauguration of the Visigothic monarchy made extremely difficult the hierarchic, doctrinal and liturgical unification of the Peninsular church, but, from very early, the Iberian eclesiastical authorities made a gigantic effort of organization which allowed them, already by the Council of Toledo in 633, to impose the general lines of a single liturgy, which, despite some local variations, obeyed common standards with respect to the form of the ceremonies, sung texts and their respective melodic support. Thus a more or less unified practice was compiled, the so-called *Hispanic rite,* one of the great branches of the liturgical family of occidental Christianity, on a par with the Galican (France), *Sarum* or Anglican (En-

gland), Milanese or Ambrosian (Milan), Old Roman (Rome) and Beneventian (Southern Italy) rites.

Equally known as the *Visigothic rite* from having been installed under the vigilance of the Visigothic reign, or the *Mozarabic rite*, as it was continued even under Muslim domination, benefitting from the relative tolerance of the Arabs for Christian worship in the territories under their administration, this specifically Iberian liturgy was maintained in use until 1080, date in which the Council of Burgos, responding to an appeal in this sense by Pope Gregory VII, decreed its replacement by the so-called *Roman rite*. This last, today inadequately known as «Gregorian», resulted from a gigantic effort of reprocessing, revision, codification and ordering of the Old Roman rite which was carried out in the court of Charlemagne at the beginning of the XIX century and was first applied in the territories of the Carolingian empire, and afterwards gradually imposed by the papacy as the only rite of the Western Church.

In this Peninsular liturgical panorama, the territory which came to be Portugal does not seem to have shown signs of particular originality but repeatedly appears as a fully assumed participant in all the phases of its evolution. In Mértola we find a reference to one «André princeps cantorum» (*André prince of singers*) between 489 and 525, which in the opinion of Robert Stevenson, constitutes the first known mention of the name of a Church musician in all Europe (1982: V), and it is strongly probable that the celebrated *Antifonário de León*, a Spanish manuscript of the X century which contains texts and melodies for the Divine Office of all the liturgical calendar and is actually our principal source for the study of the Hispanic musical liturgy, had been copied from an original compiled in the diocese of Beja (id.).

Already in the time of the Arab dominion there existed in the future Portugal some Christian ecclesiastical institutions of relative prosperity like for example the monasteries of Lorvão and Vacariça, but in the degree to which the Reconquest proceeded and Christian administration was structured in the conquered territories, can be seen a proliferation and significant reinforcement of these institutions. The scarcity of superior bodies of local training to administer this expanding ecclesiastical apparatus resulted in the fact that the majority of the new bishops of the Portuguese dioceses were French in origin and had to circulate between the principal posts in question: in Braga Géraud — the future St. Gerald — (1096-1109), Maurice Bourdin (1109-1118) and Jean Péculier (1138-1175), in Coimbra

the same Maurice Bourdin (1099-1109) and Bernard (+ 1146), in Porto Hugues (1114-1136) and the already mentioned Jean Péculier (1136-1138). This common French origin of the prelates facilitated the council's decision to substitute the Hispanic rite by the Roman in the respective dioceses, each one having brought with him instructions and applying liturgical Gregorian books, copied in France, within their jurisdiction.

In this respect it should be made clear that the so-called Braga rite — a combination of ceremonies, texts and melodies for exclusive use in the archdiocese of Braga and still in use today — should be considered one of the many local variants allowed in the picture of liturgical unification based on the Roman rite, for this reason dating from a period probably between the mid XII century and the end of the XIII century. Other dioceses and even some of the monastic establishments of greater prestige, like the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, were equally the scenario for their own liturgical variants of the same type which in the majority disappeared with the Council of Trent in the mid XVI century when the progress of the centralizing movement of the Counter-Reformation sought once and for all to impose unique liturgical moulds for the whole Catholic Church at least in regard to ceremonies and texts.

The Council, however, allowed that those dioceses who could prove the continuous use, for at least two hundred years, of their own liturgical practice, were authorized to maintain them, and Braga resolved to mark its privileged status as the prime Cathedral of the Peninsula by keeping some of its own ritual uses, for which is tried to attribute to these uses a supposed antiquity of a thousand years, making them go back to the supposed liturgical reform decreed at the time of the Sueve kingdom by the Archbishop Saint Martin of Dume (+ 579), a myth which ended up by being consecrated in the 1634 edition of the Braga Liturgical books (Corbin, 1952: 141-147).

This phenomenon is a good example of the extremely complicated situation that existed throughout the medieval period with respect to the hierarchic relations between the various Peninsular dioceses, whether this hierarchy implied effective ties of subordination or simply a vague hierarchic protocol without significant practical consequences. But two centuries after the independence of Portugal there were still Spanish dioceses dependant on the archdiocese of Braga and Portuguese bishoprics subordinate to the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, not to speak of the eternal rivalry

between Braga and Toledo with respect to the primacy of the Iberian Peninsula, or at least with respect to the autonomy of the first in relation to the second. The position of the Holy See on this question fluctuated constantly in accord with varied considerations, with emphasis for the part taken by the Portuguese Crown alternatively for the Pope of Avignon or for that of Rome during the Great Western Schism, and the successive solutions in many cases had consequences in the liturgical use of each Portuguese diocese.

On a par with the organization of the secular clergy under the dependence of the various dioceses, there existed in Portugal numerous convents and monasteries of as much importance as centres of cultural and liturgical activity, as for their economic and social force as great land-owners in the context of the feudal system. Originally dependent on the diocesan authorities, these monasteries, as happened in the rest of Europe, became detached from the secular ecclesiastical hierarchy and linked with each other in webs of more or less cohesion which included similar foreign institutions. Many of the Portuguese monasteries followed the Rule of St. Benedict, at least after the Council of Coyança, in 1050, and various ones gradually fell under the influence of the great French Benedictine Abbey of Cluny, some in mere terms of acepting the liturgy and customs of Cluny, like those of Pendorada, Santo Tirso, Tibães and Paço de Sousa, others establishing directly dependant links with the mother-abbey, like São Pedro de Rates, Santa Justa de Coimbra and Nossa Senhora do Vimieiro (Mattoso, 1985: 131). The combination of this influence with the fact that some of the above-mentioned French bishops, like Géraud, Maurice Bourdin and Bernard were themselves monks of Cluny, meant that the penetration of the Roman liturgy in the Portuguese Church proceeded essentially on the lines practiced in the Abbey of Cluny, one of whose Abbots, St. Hughes, played a fundamental role in the coming of Raymond and Henry of Burgundy to the Peninsula, and later in the establishment of the Condado Portucalense (the County of Portugal).

From 1140, however, began to be felt in the heart of Portuguese Benedictine monastic institutions the influence of the order of Cîteaux to which monasteries of great power and prestige began to turn, like among others those of Lafões, Tarouca and Bouro, and which came to found in Portugal the great Abbey of Alcobaça. The penetration of French liturgical influence thus passed to the influence of the Cistercians, followers of a liturgy of extreme sobriety which would affect, as we will see, some aspects of the development

of sacred Portuguese Music throughout the Middle Ages, specifically in respect to the question of the use of polyphony. Other great Portuguese eclesiastical establishments belonged to the Regular Canons, who followed the Rule of St. Augustine as defined by St. Rufus of Avignon: this was the case of the Monasteries of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and São Vicente de Fora of Lisbon, which came to be musico-liturgical centres of great importance. Lastly, the Military Orders had convents of large dimensions, like the Templars in Tomar, the Hospitalers in Leça or the Order of Santiago in Palmela, all important centres of musical activity in the context of liturgical celebration.

Of all this intense musical practice we remain with a scattered group of sources which still await detailed study, in spite of the investigation in depth made by the French musicologist Solange Corbin in the 1940's. According to this authoress, the musical manuscripts surviving from the XI century — with the exception of some fragments of a purely Iberian system of neumatic notation originating from the region of Toledo — present us fundamentally with a notation originating from Aquitaine, first using diastematic neumes still without any line, later one line, either inkless or in red or ochre, as a point of reference for the pitch of the sounds. From the mid XIII century appears a typically Portuguese variation on the Aquitainian notation, characterized by the use of a single line above or below which are placed notes in square form which permit the clear identification of the various degrees of the scale with the particularity that the semitone is always indicated by the use of a lozenge shape for the lower note. This system of notation, of great simplicity of design, clarity of reading and little demanding in manuscript space, was used here until the XV century in preference to staff notation which meanwhile became generalized in other countries (Corbin, 1952: 247-251).

The liturgical books, specifically those containing musical notation, presuppose a process of manufacture both slow and specialized, which made them valuable objects and it is thus that we find them frequently mentioned in wills as legacies of great value, on a par with liturgical utensils in precious metals as well as with endowments. Unfortunately, the oldest collections of musico-liturgical sources of the various dioceses and the monastic establishments were almost all dispersed in the XIX century which makes difficult the reconstitution of specific musical practice in each of the various medieval religious institutions in Portugal.

THE SECULAR REPERTORY

Simultaneous with the progress of sacred Music there was cultivated in Portugal at least since the independence of the kingdom, a poetico-musical genre of aristocratic character whose texts are found bound together in three large manuscript codexes, the Ajuda song-book (copied in the late XIII century), and those of the National Library and the Vatican (copied in the XVI century from originals probably bound in the XIV century). In these three sources are preserved around 1680 poems in Galician-Portuguese attributed to authors from João Soares de Paiva, born around 1140, and from king D. Sancho I himself to D. Pedro, Count of Barcelos, son of king D. Dinis who died in 1354. Regardless of their formal and thematic division in three types — the *cantiga de amor* (love song), *cantiga de amigo* (song of friendship) and *cantiga de escárnio e maldizer* (song of mockery and gossip) — everything indicates that the bulk of, if not all, this repertory of the *trovadores* was meant to be sung, with an instrumental accompanyment on whose varied nature we can only conjecture from literary descriptions and from the iconography of the epoch.

This intrinsic connection to Music is quite clear in the oldest of the three manuscripts, the Ajuda song-book, in which the staves to record the melodies corresponding to the poems were drawn but the music never written down. In this way of all the musical production of the Galician-Portuguese *trovadores* until recently we only knew of a leaf of parchment found enclosing a medieval copy of *De Officiis* by Cicero — the so-called *Vindel Parchment*, coming to light at the beginning of this century and actually belonging to the Pierpoint Morgan Library of New York — which contains a cycle of seven songs by the Galician *trovador* Martin Codax, six of which with their respective melodies. If the pitch of these melodies does not offer particular doubts, their rhythmic structure, recorded in some of the pieces in a pre-modal system and in the others in a modal system prior to Franco de Cologne, has been the object of various contradictory attempts at transcription, the most recent of which consists of a highly detailed study by Manuel Pedro Ferreira which opens the way to new and important readings (Ferreira, 1986). Recently, however, it was announced by the American musicologist Harvey Sharrar, of the University of California in Santa Barbara, of the revolutionary discovery, in the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, of another parchment of the same

kind containing various *cantigas de amigo* by King D. Dinis, whose poems were already known, but in this new source appear for the first time with their melodies. We now await the publication of the results of the study of the manuscript. In the absence of musical sources, it was suggested — according to the so-called *liturgical thesis*, which claims that the bursting out of the troubadour movement in Europe was a simple extension of religious poetico-musical practice — that we could apply the poems that have come down to us to metrically compatible Gregorian melodies (Alegria, 1968). However we are dealing with an attempt whose historical presuppositions have been repeatedly queried by the principal scholars of this repertory, who cite the existence of other roots, at least as important as the liturgy, for the poetry and music of the *trovadores*, namely the Latin secular tradition and the Arab influence whose mark is clear in all aspects of Mediterranean Christian culture. In these terms the application of plainsong melodies to the poems of the Song-books merely for reasons of metric coincidence is in the last analysis an arbitrary superimposing of artistic and cultural currents which certainly had between them many points of contact but which were essentially quite distinct.

More appropriate are the proposals of Manuel Pedro Ferreira who suggests the use of the melodies taken from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, an extensive collection of Galician-Portuguese poems of religious content compiled in the reign of Afonso X of Leon and Castile (1252-1284), grandfather of D. Dinis and himself, like his grandson, a distinguished *trovador* (Ferreira, 1986: Apendix), in that the *Cantigas* have in fact a formal structure and poetic idiom extremely similar to the secular Song-books. The texts of some of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* deal with miracles or similar occurrences in various parts of the Country, including Terena (Nos. 213, 223 and 228), Alenquer (No. 316), Évora (No. 322), Odemira (No. 327) and Santarém (No. 369), so the possibility that these pieces are of Portuguese origin should not be excluded.

Connected to the activity of the *trovadores*, but also to a popular culture of which no written register has come to us except in indirect form, from the stylization of themes or popular poetic processes in the context of *trovador* poetry, were the *jograis* or *segréis*, musicians and poets of plebeian origin who in addition to appearing in traditional fairs and festivals are frequently mentioned as being in the service of various Peninsular monarchs. The earliest of the Iberian *jograis* mentioned is a certain Palea, active between 1136

and 1154 in the service of Afonso VII of Leon, but in 1193 our King D. Sancho gave lands to the *jograis* Bonamis and Acompaniado, and in 1268 D. Afonso III did the same for the *jogral* Simeão, recommending in a document of the same reign that «The King shall have three *jograis* in his house and not more» (Corbin, 1952: 227-229). All through the XIV century we find multiple references to the presence in the court of Aragon of *jograis* hailing from the Portuguese court: Marvall de Santarem and V. Domingues (1311), Johan Abado (1334) and Fferan Perez (1336-1341) (Gomez, 1987: 102).

1.2 — The Generalization of Polyphonic Practice

THE ORIGINS OF POLYPHONY

Considering the importance of the ties which, as we have seen, united the Portuguese and French Churches during the medieval period, it cannot be excluded that polyphony could have been known and practiced in Portugal, at least sporadically, in this period. However we equally remark that from very early on this French influence was felt here especially through the Cistercian Order, whose severe customs in the field of liturgical Music, contrasted with the prevailing tendency of other contemporary monastic and eclesiastical currents on the other side of the Pyrenees, perhaps on the contrary having been a barrier to the general penetration of polyphonic practice in our Country (Freitas Branco, 1959: 16).

What is apparently unarguable is that until the last third of the XIV century there is no documentary evidence suggesting the performance of any type of polyphonic repertory in Portugal, and much less any Portuguese manuscript with polyphony. The word *organum*, as appears in a list of books left in 959 in the will of the Countess Mumadona Dias to a Monastery in Guimarães, appears to apply to the generic title of a literary codex of unspecified theme — possibly Philosophy or Theology — and not to any hypothetical musical content (in which case the use of the expression *liber organi* would have been more natural). As well it would be most strange if polyphonic practice, in an embrionic period in which the influence of the first treatises like *Musica enchiriadis* or *Scholia enchiriadis* do not seem to have been known outside the North of France,

that they should have been known in the future Condado Portucalense even before being recorded in Italy, in Southern France or in Spain.

Even when late in the full XII century, the Provençal influence brought by the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela caused the implantation in the musical liturgy of that Galician sanctuary of a polyphonic tradition deriving from the melismatic descant of St. Martial of Limoges and preserved in the so-called *Codex Calixtinus*, this tradition does not seem to have spread to Portugal, in spite of being certainly known by portuguese musicians who frequently accompanied their masters, whether ecclesiastical or lay, in pilgrimages to the tomb of the Apostle.

Hence it is already in the reign of D. Fernando that the first concrete reference to polyphony arises: the presence of the Francoflemish composer Jehan Simon de Haspre, the famous Hasprois, for whom in 1378 the monarch requested from Pope Clement VII the benefice of São Martinho de Sintra, and who later entered the chapel of the papacy in Avignon. In spite of being still at the beginning of his career, Hasprois was a radical adept of an extremely complex polyphonic aesthetics which became known as *Ars subtilior*, and whose growing hermeticism ended by leading, at the beginning of the XV century, to its marginalization in favour of the more simple and accessible language of the English school. The favour which a composer of the vanguard like this found with the King of Portugal seems to suggest that the French *Ars nova* was, as a whole, relatively familiar to the Lisbon court and in fact in his *Livro da Montaria* (book of horsemanship) written just after 1415, it is the very brother of D. Fernando, D. João I, who indirectly confirms this familiarity in declaring (hopefully with a sense of humour) that the hunting-calls, the cries of the horsemen and the baying of the packs pleased him more than the Music of the greatest French polyphonist of the XIV century, Guillaume de Machaut: «[...] we can well say that Guilhelme de Machado did not make so beautiful a melodic concordance [...]» (Buescu, 1990: 114).

The wedding of D. João I in 1387 with D. Filipa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, had a decisive role in the evolution of the cultural atmosphere of the Portuguese Court, introducing an English influence which in musical terms lasted at least for the first half of the XV century. Already in the full reign of D. Afonso V the effective Master of the Royal Chapel, Álvaro Afonso, was sent to Henry VI of England to obtain from this sovereign a

copy of the statutes, regulations and liturgy of the British Royal Chapel, which he brought to Portugal in the form of an extensive manuscript description by the deacon of that institution, William Say, still preserved today in the Public Library of Évora (Alegria, 1977: 133).

In what context and to what extent the English liturgy — the *sarum rite* came to be or not to be applied here is a question which has not yet been properly clarified. But if we think that the first half of the XV century was precisely the period of great flourishing of the School of Lionel Power, John of Dunstable and all the constellation of great English polyphonists whose influence was to completely revolutionize European musical life, setting off a new phase in the global stylistic evolution of the Music of the Renaissance, it must certainly be admitted that this influence had arrived in the same way in Portugal and marked the local composers and interpreters. What is undeniable is that the Princes of Avis since their house came to power promoted intense polyphonic activity in the Portuguese court, in imitation of the principal European courts, where, the Flemish theorist Johannes Tinctoris around wrote 1476, «the Christian princes [...] founded chapels in the manner of David, for which at extraordinary expense they contracted singers to sing, pleasant and attractive praise to God with diverse (but not adverse) voices» (Strunk, 1965: 5). A document a little before 1437 mentions that, for example, two of the sons of D. João I, the Infantes D. Fernando and D. Pedro, had each in his service a chief chaplain, thirteen singing chaplains and eight choir-boys (Dias, 1982, p. 179), and throughout the XV and XVI centuries this principle was maintained so that the Queen and all the Infantes had not only their own chapels but chamber-musicians in varied numbers in their personal employment.

THE ROYAL CHAPEL

At the heart of the polyphonic activity of the court was the Royal Chapel, for which King D. Duarte himself made up a detailed *Ordenaçam* (regulation) in which he mentioned the four directing posts of the institution (Chief Chaplain, Chapel Master, Tenor and Master of the Boys), three sections of singers are discriminated (alto, counter and tenor), precise rules of musical performance and of discipline

are recommended, and eight to twelve choir-boys are established in principle, half of whom should be seven or eight years old and the other half three or four more so as to avoid excessive fluctuations in quality when the older boys reach the age of their voices breaking. Judging from the content of this royal *Ordenaçam*, the admission of castrati in the Royal Chapel was not yet institutionalized, a practice to which in the XVI century we fill find various references but whose introduction has still not yet been documented (Vieira, 1900: I, 6-7). Particularaly interesting for the rarity of directions of this nature in the age in question is the final recommendation of the monarch in demanding of his singers that they «only sing with the throat» which seems to indicate the use of a technique of vocal placement still without the head resonance later introduced by the *bel canto* (Dias, 1982: 209-212).

In 1430 the Infanta D. Isabel, daughter of D. João I, married the Duke of Burgundy, Philipe the Good, and this marriage could not avoid tightening relations between the Portuguese court and the Ducal court of Dijon, which by then was the principal centre of European aristocratic culture and maintained this status until the final defeat of the son of Philip and Isabel, Charles the Bold, by the French Crown in 1477. The knowledge of Portuguese Music in the Burgundian court can for instance be deduced from an enthusiastic reference of the poet Martin le Franc to the visit to Dijon of two instrumentalists of proven Iberian origin — «Jehan Fernandes» and «Jehan de Cordouval» — who may well have been Portuguese. But in this respect still more significant is the presence in one of the principal collections of Franco-Flemish *basse danses* of the age of an instrumental piece titled *La Portingaloise*, inspired by a song «en la mode du Portugal» (Thibault, 1960: 942); equally a vocal elaboration entitled *Portugaler* attributed to the most influential composer of the period, Guillaume Dufay, has survived, of which is also known a version for organ preserved in the most famous collection of organ repertory of the XV century, the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* (Reese, 1959: 51 and 659). Everything thus indicates that we can consider this work as the first known example of polyphonic music of Portuguese origin.

The monumental evolution of Franco-Flemish poliphony in the XV century, primarily based on the political predominance of the House of Burgundy and after its fall on the economic power of the merchant cities of Flanders, came to influence all Europe, and Portugal could not have been an exception, especially taking into

account both the dynastic ties between the Portuguese and Burgundian courts, and the commercial relations established between Portugal and the Low Countries since the XIV century first centred on Bruges and later, with the onset of the spice-trade, on Antwerp. Despite the fact that until the end of the XV century we have no Portuguese musical sources that can confirm it, when these finally appear, already in the transition to the next century, the Franco-Flemish influence is so clear in them that it cannot fail to represent a process of assimilation of various decades, as happened in a paralell process in the same period in Spain which has been duly documented (Rubio, 1983). Only with the procedure of investigation and the eventual discovery of practical sources of XV century Portuguese polyphony will it be possible to evaluate to what degree the Franco-Flemish formal and stylistic models and conventions reached us directly from their original pole and in what proportion we received them via their reprocessing in the royal chapels of Castile and Aragon, and in particular of the Catholic Kings.

In the absence of extant practical Music, what we find during the XV century with respect to the evolution of a polyphonic activity in the Portuguese court is a most vast *corpus* of documentary references whether to the granting by sucessives popes, on royal request, of growing liturgical privileges, whether to the Crown contracting broad dozens of professional singers and instrumentalists. At the pinnacle of this courtly musical activity was the Royal Chapelmaster, a post which in the reign of D. Afonso V was successively filled by the already cited Alvaro Afonso, by Gomes Ayres (d. 1454), by João de Lisboa (d. 1476) and by the Spanish Tristano de Silva, from Tarrazona and author of a theoretical treatise, *Los Amables de la Música*, of which no copy has reached us but which will be repeatedly cited in terms of praise by various Iberian music theorists until the end of the XVII century (Nery 1984: 221). The series of Masters of the Royal Chapel continues with Mateus de Fontes (d. 1516), Fernão Rodrigues (d. 1521), João de Vila Castim (retired in 1548), Bartolomeu Trozelho and António Carreira.

Of the quality of the musical liturgical practice in the Chapel of the sovereigns, Damião de Góis, in a passage of his chronicle of D. Manuel I tells us that this monarch «[...] had excellent singers and players who came from all parts of Europe, to whom he gave great gifts, and gave salaries with which they kept themselves honourably, beyond this he granted them other favours so that he had one of the best Chapels of any King or Prince alive» (Vascon-

celos, 1870: I, 222). This preoccupation with keeping the Royal Chapel at the highest level lasted throughout the XVI century, coming finally to a project of reform of the institution which began to be defined in the reign of D. João III but was only definitely put in practice during the reign of Philip II (of Spain).

The Royal Chapel daily celebrated the Mass, with varying degrees of solemnity and oscilating between a duration of half an hour and an hour and a half, depending on whether it was prayed or entirely sung. The Divine Office was equally celebrated in its totality throughout the liturgical year, encompassing the group of fixed canonic hours: Matins (before sunrise), Lauds (on sunrise), Prime (around 9a.m.), Terce (around mid-day), Sext (around 3p.m.), None (around 6p.m.), Vespers (on sunset) and Compline (just after sunset). However as is obvious a large part of these liturgical ceremonies were only recited, in most cases without Music and especially without the presence of the monarch.

A document of the so-called *Livro da Cartuxa* (Dias, 1982: 215-217) just before August of 1433, supplies us with a detailed inventory of the ceremonies of greater liturgical pomp throughout the year at the time of King D. Duarte, and it should be allowed that this distribution was not substantially altered at least until the beginning of the XVII century. According to this text Christmas Matins, following the Mass, lasted five hours; the feast of Our Lady on February 2nd, with sung Terce, blessing of the candles and procession, three hours; the feast of Ash Wednesday, with the psalms of None, blessing, strewing of the ashes and the Mass, two hours; the Mass of Our Lady sung on the following Saturday, an hour and a half. Holy Week, in its turn, for its profound significance in the heart of the liturgy, implied an almost total daily absorbtion of the Royal Household in the ceremonies of worship: on Palm Sunday the sequence of sung Terce, of the blessing and the procession of Palms and of the Mass, including the singing of the Passion according to St. Matthew, lasted five hours; the Matins of Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week each lasted three hours, but on the same days the sequence of prayed Prime, Terce, Sext and None and sung Vespers, enlarged on Friday by the sung St. John Passion and on Saturday by a series of additional ceremonies including the blessing of the candles, lasted respectively three hours (Thursday), three and a half hours (Friday) and five hours (Saturday). On the feast of Pentecost the Vespers of the Mass of the day before lasted two hours and on the day itself Matins and Prime lasted two hours,

and the combination of Terce and the Mass three hours. Of the other feasts of the liturgical year stand out the Assumption of Our Lady on 15th August and some of the more important saints like St. Peter, and possibly St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist as well as All Saints. In spite of the document being lacking in their respect, in the XVI century the feasts of Epifany (6th January) and Corpus Christi (on Thursday following the octave of Pentecost) seem to have also acquired particular weight in the liturgy of the Chapel.

MUSIC AT THE COURT

As well as the liturgical practice based on the Royal Chapel, the court was equally the scene of an intense secular musical activity. In this field we find, first of all fanfares of military or ceremonial character which helped above all to give a solemn character and reinforced protocol to all the courtly rituals, from the entrance or exit of the monarch in a meeting room to the welcoming of an ambassador or an important visitor, and from the formal procession of the opening of the *Cortes* to the simple arrival of each new dish at the royal table during a banquet. This kind of Music was generally confided to instruments *altos* (high instruments) like shawms, trumpets or timpani, whose players were organised in minstrel guilds of medieval tradition, directed by dignitaries with solemn titles like «*king of the shawms, king of the trumpets* or *king of the minstrels*».

In the same passage of his chronicle of King D. Manuel, mentioned above, Damião de Góis left us a colourful and informative picture of these instrumental ensembles:

> [...] most of the time when he was in council and always during the siesta and after going to bed he listened to music [...] every Sunday and on holy-days he dined and supped with the music of shawms, sackbuts, cornetts, harps, drums and fiddles, and on feast days with trumpets and drums that all played in their own way while he ate; as well as these there were Moorish musicians who sang and played lutes and tabors, to the sound of which as well as the shawms, harps, fiddles and drums the youth of nobility danced during dinner and supper [...]. [Vasconcelos, 1870: I, 222-223.]

Just like the sovereign, the great lords of the Kingdom, in particular the Dukes of Bragança, made a point of underlining their prominant social position surrounding the most trivial aspects of their daily life with this musical apparatus. A description of a banquet celebrated on the wedding of the Duke D. Teodósio in 1542 tells us:

> The abundance and delicacy of the food served to everybody was great, was, at the same time sounded to trumpets, shawms and minstrels and after a very concordant Music of instruments and voices was heard, so that the food was even more tasty». (Nery, 1990: 87.)

However these musical fanfares were not always of unanimously appreciated refinement, judging from the description of another banquet in the ducal palace, this one written by one of the followers of a legate of Pope Pius V who visited Vila Viçosa in 1571:

> When evening came it seemed everything was on fire, as happens in the Castle of Sant'Angelo, with so many trombones, fifes and bells that nothing else could be heard [...] on the dinner hour we entered the room with many sounds [...] no sooner had we begun to eat, and with each new dish [there sounded] trumpets and when the Cardinal wished to drink sounded trumpets [...] and while eating [were heard] always different types of music for wind instruments [...] (Id.: 86.)

On the other hand, on a par with the minstrels responsible for the instruments called «altos», as much in the royal court as in those of the Infantes and the great title holders, were the chamber-musicians, responsible for performing dance music and an equally secular but more sophisticated vocal and instrumental repertory. In the case of the Royal House the instruments of these players rarely appear specified in the pertinent official documentation but included for example, still in the reign of D. Afonso V, a «lute player» (Lopo de Condeixa, mentioned between 1459 and 1464) and a «master of the organs» (Manuel Pires, *o Rombo*, mentioned between 1453 and 1461) (Viterbo, 1932: 3-4, 136-138, 454-455). It cannot be excluded that the organ had been known and practiced from every early times in the Portuguese court, in that as a part of the exchange of *jograis* between this and the Aragonese court mentioned above,

we find between 1368 and 1374 in the service of Pedro IV of Aragon a «master of making and playing organs», Johan Bernat, who is referred to as a Portuguese (Gomez, 1987: 102). Neither the contractual documents nor the descriptions that reach us suggest that there was a rigid separation between the players contracted for service in the Royal Chapel and those who performed Chamber Music. On the contrary we find many references to the fact that singers and instrumentalists of the Chapel were frequently called upon to entertain the court with Music of a light character, even at the moments when the sovereigns «listened to the principal citizens of their kingdoms and dispatched the most important affairs presented to them» (Sampayo Ribeiro, 1965: XXXII).

Evidently the court Music was not exclusive to the professionals specifically contracted for the purpose. In harmony with the gentlemanly ideas proposed by Castiglione in *Il Corteggiano* (The Courtier) and later spread by a number of similar works in all the Iberian Peninsula, it was an essential part of the culture of a nobleman, which for example explains that Duke D. Teodósio I of Bragança patronized in his palace for members of his household «lessons of reading, writing, grammar, music, dance, sword-play, [and] horsemanship of both saddles [...]» (Nery, 1990: 92). Among the ladies waiting on the Infanta D. Maria, daughter of King D. Manuel, stood out the most cultured figure of Ângela Sigéia, of a profound erudition in classical languages and literature and «so well versed in the Art of Music and instruments, that she could compete with its most eminent professors» (id.), and the Infanta D. Catarina, Duchess of Bragança, on receiving at her palace the celebrated embassy of noble Japonese who visited Europe in 1584-85 «made her servants play before them and sing with calm and honest music» (id.: 95).

On the contrary to the minstrels, in their majority of humble origin — and in some cases even negro slaves or moors — these musicians frequently came from the lesser nobility. Luis de Victoria, «excellent player of the viol» in the service of another of the sons of D. Manuel, the Infante D. Luis, is considered by poet Pedro de Andrade Caminha «the best musician of his time and a good poet», had the category of gentleman-nobleman in the house of the prince, the same rank enjoyed in the Royal Palace by another notable player of plucked strings, Alexandre de Aguiar, whose musical gifts earned him the epithet «Orpheus and Amphion of his times» (Viterbo, 1932: 18-19, 575; Nery, 1984: 43). The figure of the young page, in general

poor but still belonging to scale of the lesser noble men of the court, capable of singing his verses accompanying himself on the guitar with more or less proficiency, is a regular presence in the Portuguese XVI century courtly literature and especially in the theatre of Gil Vicente.

In this context it should be mentioned that within the intense musical activity of the Portuguese court the presence of Music stands out clearly as an essential component of the plays and similar theatrical spectacles which were put on before the Royal Family and a limited circle of courtiers with pride of place for the theatre of Gil Vicente. The musical element is in fact fundamental in the playwright's work, participating in the form of songs and dances interspersed with the action and almost always precisely identified by the author, which even today allows us to localize in the main Peninsular polyphonic sources some of the pieces in question. It is the case of the vilancete by the Spanish composer Peñalosa, *Nina erguedme los ojos,* and of a master-piece like the romance *Nina era la Infanta*, both mentioned in the *Cortes de Júpiter*, of the famous vilancete *Nunca fué pena mayor*, by the Flemish composer Juan de Urrede, cited in three plays of Gil Vicente amongst which the *Barca da Glória*, or of the motet *Clamabat autem mulier Cananea*, by Pedro Escobar, with which the *Auto da Cananeia* is thought to have ended. It is also the case of numerous mentions of Iberian popular dances like the *folia*, the *chacota*, the *baixa* or the *alta* of which various versions for a variety of vocal and instrumental combinations have reached us, and of multiple references to a vast range of instruments and musical practices, which reveal that Master Gil had a most secure musical knowlege.

1.3 — Renaissance Polyphony

THE SECULAR SONG-BOOKS

The phenomenon of the disproportion between the relative wealth of purely literary sources and the scarcity of corresponding musical sources which we have already spoken of in dealing with the *trovador* repertory of the medieval period is repeated in dealing with the poetry of the Portuguese court between the 15th and 16th centuries. A large part of the poems forming the monumental collection joined by Garcia de Resende in this *Cancioneiro Geral*, published

in 1516 was in fact meant to be sung instead of read or recited, and the same is true of many of the works of our XVI century poets, from Bernardim Ribeiro and Sá de Miranda to Pero de Andrade Caminha, Luis de Camões and Diogo Bernardes. The fact that the musical support of almost all this repertory has been lost is very probably owing to the fact that this Music circulated above all by ear, rarely coming to be written down. On the other hand, we are dealing with a musical repertory of ephemeral existence which seems to have fallen from favour at the end of the XVI century, and that from then no special care was taken to preserve the musical manuscripts on which, in spite of all, some of these songs had been notated.

It was in 1940 that one of the great pioneers of Portuguese musicology, Manuel Joaquim, published in modern edition our first surviving musical Renaissance song-book. This is a small manuscript belonging to the Públia Hortênsia Library, itself a part of the Public Library of Elvas, and contains sixty-five polyphonic songs in the vernacular dating from the beginning of the XVI century (Morais, 1977). Three decades passed until the discovery and publication by Manuel Morais of three similar new sources: a song-book of essentially religious content in which are found nineteen secular works, bought by the National Library of Lisbon from the former Director of the Lisbon Conservatory, Ivo Cruz; a vast collection of one hundred and thirty-one songs, fifty-four of them polyphonic, copied in the 1560's and today belonging to the library of the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, of Paris (Morais, 1986); and finally a collection of eighteen pieces in the vernacular possibly composed between 1560 and 1580 and inserted in a miscellaneous XVI century manuscript which belonged to Leite de Vasconcelos and today is owned by the library of the National Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, in Belém (Morais, 1988).

Thus, as a whole, we have a *corpus* of more than one hundred and fifty works which allow us to trace the evolution of the secular polyphonic song in Portugal from the last years of the XV century to the end of the XVI century, or from the full affirmation of the Renaissance in Portuguese culture to full Mannerism. All these songs are anonymous so that only in the rare cases when there exist agreement with similar Spanish sources we can identify two of the represented composers: the Spanish playwright and composer Juan del Encina and the Portuguese Pedro de Escobar, to whom we will later refer. Despite the presence of some pieces in Portuguese the

predominant language is Castilian, which since the mid-XV century — and in particular since the centralizing movement set in motion by the Catholic Kings — became the cultured idiom of the Iberian courts.

The three leading poetic forms are the *vilancete* (or *villancico*), the *cantiga* and the *romance*. The origin of the first two appears to go back to the beginning of the XIV century, assimilating then the tradition of the Arab *zejel* and showing similarities to the French *virelai* and the Italian *ballata* (Sanchez Romeralo, 1969). Just as they appear already standardized in the late XV century, both have a refrain — of two or three verses in the case of the vilancete and of four in the case of the cantiga — which is set to the first section of Music; this refrain is followed by a stanza distributed with more or less regularity between the two consecutive appearances of a short second musical section and the complete repetition of the first section. The result is an ABBA musical form generally in agreement with the following scheme, compiled by the American musicologist Isabel Pope (Grove: XIX, 767):

	REFRAIN	STANZA	
		CHANGE	RETURN
VILLANCICO (refrain of 2 v.):			
Text	aa	bb	ba
	ab	cc	cb
Music	ab	cc	ab
	(A	BB	A)
VILLANCICO (refrain of 3 v.):			
Text	abb	cdcd	dbb
	abb	cddc	cbb
Music	abc	dede	abc
	(A	BB	A)
CANTIGA (refrain of 4 v.):			
Text	abba	cddc	abba
	abab	cdcd	dbab
Music	abcd	efef	abcd
	(A	BB	A)

The themes of the vilancete and the cantiga tend to be of an amorous nature, and they can frequently assume a poetic atmosphere of clear pastoral references but do not exclude satirical intention

or social criticism as in the case of *Não tragais borzeguins pretos*, a vilancete from the Paris song-book which apparently refers to the severe measures with which D. João III tried to discipline the dress of his courtiers.

As for the romance, this is a narrative genre in which fictional themes seem to have been neglected in favour of more or less stylized descriptions of historical events, the various stanzas of the poem being sung to the same music. An excellent example of this genre is the already mentioned *Nina era la Infanta*, in which on the pretext of the marriage of the Infanta D. Beatriz, daughter of the King D. Manuel, with Charles, Duke of Sabóia in 1521, the physical and spiritual virtues of the princess are praised, the riches of her dowry and her train are described, and the nobility and the power of both the engaged and their respective families are praised. One of the last XV century polyphonic romances to reach us is equally a work of deep historical significance: the celebrated romance *Puestos están frente a frente* published in 1629 in the *Miscelanea* by Miguel Leitão de Andrade with the direction that it should be sung «with the saddest of feeling» and in which the course of the battle of Alcácer-Quibir and the death of D. Sebastião are narrated (Morais, 1986).

Until the mid-XVI century the general musical style of these works, whether cantigas, vilancetes or romances, is based on a polyphonic three-part texture, each with its own range and unfolding in a musical structure which copies in musical terms those of the poem itself. Each phrase is sung syllable by syllable in homorhythmic form by all the voices and concludes with a more or less elaborated cadential formula in which the last tonic syllable tends to broaden in a melisma of several notes with a more independant contrapuntal movement between the various parts, at times with marked polyrhythm. Both this syllabic and homorhythmic distribution of the text and the cadential formulae employed, reveal a clear influence of the conventions of the Franco-Flemish chanson as spread through all Europe in the last third of the XV century thanks to the popularity of the works of Ockeghem and Busnois.

The contrapuntal sophistication of the generation of Josquin des Prés, already in the transition for the XVI century and especially the generation immediately after with authors like Certon, Gombert, Le Jeune or Jannequin, seems to have been known here, as witnesses the presence of the songs of some of these composers in Portuguese manuscripts of the epoch (specifically in keyboard versions reaching

us in a manuscript copied in the mid-XVI century in the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, today preserved in the General Library of Coimbra University in M.M. 48). However the style of the Portuguese song-books has an economy of means and a simplicity of language which on the one hand suggest, in some cases, that this is a repertory above all created by courtly amateurs of limited musical training, on the other hand are too consistent not to show an aesthetic option both conscious and assumed even on the part of professional composers of unarguable *métier*. With the exception of the occasional isolated earlier example, it is only in the second half of the century that we begin to find, in the later song-books, an evolution in the sense of a more elaborate contrapuntal technique, with more melismatic text distribution, more lively rhythmic figuration and more systematic recourse to imitation between the voices, as in the villancico *Ai dolor quão mal me tratas* of the Paris song-book. Here we are in full transition to Mannerism, a process to which we will later refer in greater detail.

SACRED POLYPHONY IN ÉVORA: FROM PEDRO DO PORTO TO THE CATHEDRAL SCHOOL

The oldest work of Portuguese polyphony by an identified author is the *Magnificat* by Pedro do Porto, preserved in a codex (MS 2) of Tarrazona Cathedral and consisting of a three-part version of the even-numbered verses of the Marian canticle in a free and extremely elaborate contrapuntal treatment of the Gregorian intonation of the VIII mode. The activity of Pedro do Porto in Portugal is only documented from 1521, when he became Chapel Master of one of the sons of D. Manuel, the Cardinal-Infante D. Afonso, whom he must have accompanied to Évora when the prince became administrator of that Diocese, in that a manuscript refers to him as living in that city from 1534-35, apparently in a situation of relative misery and acute alcoholism. The American musicologist Robert Stevenson has repeatedly and quite plausibly identified this composer with the polyphonist Pedro de Escobar who between 1489 and 1499 was a singer in the Chapel of Isabel the Catholic, in whose documentation he is referred as «the Portuguese». Escobar would have returned to Portugal after leaving the court of Castile, returning to Spain in 1507 to occupy the post of Master of the boys of Seville Cathedral until

1514 the date in which he was succeeded in these functions by the great master of all the Andalusian polyphonic school, Pedro Fernández de Castilleja. It has not been clarified whether he also served in the Cathedral of Valencia (Stevenson, 1966: 8-9).

One of the elements which reinforce this hypothetical identification is the fact that the celebrated motet *Clamabat autem mulier Chananea*, recognized as by Escobar, the object of various copies in numerous iberian and latin-american manuscripts, is attributed to Pedro do Porto by the chronicler João de Barros who calls it the «prince of motets». Among the other identified works by Pedro de Escobar are eighteen secular pieces in Spanish manuscripts, some of which equally appear in Portuguese song-books, around two dozen sacred compositions, including two *Alleluias* in three parts, four motets, eight hymns, a *Salve Regina* and a *Stabat Mater* in four parts and two complete masses, one of which for the departed. Also attributed to the same composer are a «Kyrie» of a Marian mass whose other movements are ascribed to Francisco de Peñalosa, Pedro Hernández and Alonso Pérez de Alba, and the «Sanctus» and «Agnus Dei» of another similar mass whose preceeding sections are by Juan de Anchieta, however it is not clear if these are collective works in the true sense of the word or merely compilations at the whim of their copysts (Rubio, 1983: 122-123).

Musician of the King's chapel and later of a cathedral, Pedro do Porto is in a certain way the symbol of a process of transition in the panorama of Iberian institutional Music of his time characterized by the gradual broadening of polyphonic practice of the private chapels of monarchs and princes and of the principal Cathedrals of the Peninsula, that until at least the last third of the XV century seem to have maintained a musical liturgy based exclusively on chant. In the case of Portugal the fact that two of the sons of D. Manuel occupied the principle bishoprics of the country was clearly important; Cardinal D. Afonso was administrator of the dioceses of Lisbon and Évora until his death in 1540, and Cardinal D. Henrique was in succession Archbishop of Braga (1532-1539), Évora (1540-1564 and 1574-1578) and Lisbon (1564-1574). In their status as infantes both had their own chapel and for this were accustomed to polyphony in worship so that it is not surprising if they made a point of introducing or reinforcing the same practice in the liturgy of their Cathedrals at least as an external symbol of their dignity.

Thus when the Infante D. Afonso was in 1522 nominated administrator of the bishopric of Évora, as he was already Archbishop

of Lisbon, it is admissable that the Chapel Master of his House, Pedro do Porto, should accompany him during his periods of residence in his new diocese and should become equally responsible for the celebration of the musical liturgy in the Cathedral, doing so with abundant recourse to polyphony at least in all the solemn ceremonies presided over by the Cardinal himself. It not known in what circumstances the composer ceased to fill these functions but in 1528 the Spanish Mateus de Aranda arrived in Évora as Chapel Master, not now of the prelate but of the Cathedral itself, his duty being the direction of cathedral Music but also responsibility for teaching Music to the choir-boys. The Cardinal-Infante decided, in effect, to endow the Évora Cathedral with solid infrastructures for the luxurious celebration of the musical liturgy which included the payment of huge salaries capable of attracting musicians of the highest quality, and above all the establishment of a school for choir-boys in which particularily gifted children could receive a complete musical education from eight or nine years while at the same time singing in the Cathedral choir, after which they followed the career of professional musicians or had the opportunity to pursue humanistic studies. The combination of these two basic measures came to guarantee the Évora Cathedral for a century and a half not only the constant training of successive generations of musicians of high quality but also the gradual foundation of a musical tradition with its own aesthetic characteristics (Alegria, 1985: 85-95).

Mateus de Aranda stayed in Évora until 1544 and there wrote, as teaching aids, the two first theoretical treatises printed in Portugal which were published in Lisbon by German Galharde: the *Tractado de cãto llano*, of 1533, and the *Tractado de canto mesurable*, of 1535, two small manuals that, without claiming to be an original theoretical reflexion, constitute excellent summaries of the basic information indispensable to the correct performance of musical liturgical repertory, both monodic and polyphonic. This purpose of serving as a guide for the training of practical musicians always presided in the whole of the Portuguese music theory production until at least the XIX century. In this period no examples are found of any theoretical speculation more advanced than the treatises of D. João IV and his librarian João Alvares Frouvo. Aranda also left us three small compositions for four voices, *Adjuva nos*, *Et incarnatus* and *Et vitam futuri* (Alegria, 1973: 156-169), too short for us to judge his merit as a composer.

With the departure of Mateus de Aranda for Coimbra, in 1544, it was considered better to separate the functions of the Chapel Master; specifically those of the responsability of training the choirboys, a sufficiently absorbing task to justify the creation of a new post, the Master of the Cloister. The Chapel was thus entrusted to Francisco Velez who directed it until the mid 1570's and received from D. Sebastião in 1563 the necessary licences to print, as had his predecessor, two theoretical treatises of his authorship, the first on chant and the second on mensural notation and counterpoint, despite these publications not apparently having appeared. In the post of Master of the Cloister followed two other Évora Cathedral singers, Manuel Dias (1544-1563) and André Nunes (1563-157?). In 1578 on the departure for Lisbon of the Infante Cardinal D. Henrique who had just inherited the throne, the Chapel of the Cathedral had been entrusted to Cosme Delgado for some years while the Cloister now stayed in the hands of Manuel Mendes, until now Master of the Cardinal's personal Chapel, who came to be a notable pedagogue, counting among his disciples come of the greatest names of the History of Portuguese Music of all times (Alegria, 1973).

SACRED POLYPHONY IN OTHER CATHEDRALS

If the Cathedral of Évora, in its privileged connection to the Royal House, joined specially favourable conditions for the implantation of a musical liturgy of particular solemnity and a conscious investment in the creation of adequate conditions for this widened celebration of the ceremonies of worship, not for this can we fail to find signs of a gradual implantation of polyphony in the remaining dioceses of the Country. In this respect Coimbra comes first in that since the end of the XV century we find contractual references to various singers in the service of their Bishop, in spite of everything indicating that these contracts were made for the prelates' personal service and not directly for the staff of the Cathedral, as happened in Évora in the same period. For example between 1481 and 1509 the *Livro dos Acordos do Cabido* of Coimbra Cathedral mentions a singer, Vasco Pires, posthumously mentioned in a document of 1547, as having become Chapel Master of the Cathedral and who left us various polyphonic works in the manuscripts Nos. 9 and 12 of the General Library of Coimbra University. Among these are

four even verses of the *Magnificat*, in 2, 3 and 4 voices, and an *Alleluia* in 3, certainly the first known example of a tradition which became rooted here during the whole XVI century, of writing polyphonic versions of *Alleluia* without any inserted text, apparently so as to permit in every festival the improvised insertion of the text of the Alleluia verse envisaged in the Proper of the day (Stevenson: 1982, XXX-XXXI and 18-19). Another of the singers of Bishop D. Jorge de Almeida we know as a composer is a certain Fernão Gomes or Fernão Gomes Correia, whose presence in Coimbra is documented between 1505 and 1532. By him we have a version in four voices of a verse of the Offertory of the Mass for the Dead, *Hostias et Preces* (M.M. 34 of the B.G.U.C.) in which an essentially homo-rhythmic texture alternates with short pre-cadential passages of greater contrapuntal movement, and a most beautiful *Missa orbis factor* (Livro de Coro 57 of the National Library of Lisbon), with «Kyrie», «Sanctus», «Agnus Dei» and «Deo Gratias» based on a systematic paraphrase of Gregorian melodies which constitutes the oldest polyphonic version of the Ordinary of the Mass by an author of incontestably Portuguese origin (id., XXX and 9-17).

After the initial impetus of its polyphonic musical activity, Coimbra Cathedral seems to have rapidly ceased to be an autonomous centre of musical production, limiting itself to a routine of performing a repertory acquired outside, a fact for which the competition made by the powerful musical apparatus of the Monastery of Santa Cruz cannot have been a factor without importance. We know moreover that one of the greatest XVI century composers of Santa Cruz, the Castilian Dom Francisco de Santa Maria, was Chapel Master there for some time (Pinho, 1981: 172) and an inventory of the choirbooks existing in the Cathedral in 1635 shows that this fundamentally passive role did not exclude that even at this time were sung the works of the greatest Iberian composers of a period between the mid-XVI century and the compilation of the said list; the Spanish Morales, Guerrero, Victoria, Esquivel, Navarro, Alonso Lobo and Francisco Garro, the Fleming Philippe Rogier and the Portuguese Duarte Lobo, Filipe de Magalhães and Fr. Manuel Cardoso (Alegria, 1985: 50-51).

The Archdiocese of Braga, as a leading cathedral, could not avoid being concerned with the maintainance of an imposing musical liturgy, and in fact everything suggests that even before the sway of Archbishop D. Diogo de Sousa (1505-1532) there had been a polyphonic chapel. The nomination for the Archbishopric of the

Infante Cardinal D. Henrique (1533-1540) would naturally have helped to hasten this process of reinforcing polyphony in the liturgy of Braga, and it is in fact in this period that appears the first reference to a Master of the Chapel of the cathedral, Miguel da Fonseca, who in 1544 was still in place in front of a choir of nine adult singers and between two and four choir-boys. From this period seems to date a vast collection of works between 4 and 6 voices, in their majority polyphonic settings of the text of the Proper (eighty-five pieces in the *Liber Introitus*, Ms. 967 of the Braga District Archive and fifteen in the M.M. 40 of the Oporto Municipal Library) from which fifty are attributed to one *Fonseca* which everything suggests to have been the Braga Chapel Master mentioned above (Alvarenga, 1988: 40-42). Unfortunately almost all this most rich repertory still awaits editing except for a truncated-version of the Introit of the Christmas Mass, *Puer natus est nobis* — a remarkable six-part contrapuntal elaboration around a Gregorian *cantus firmus* presented in Tenor II in long regular values — from which the editor inexplicably took away the verse and doxology of the psalm (Stevenson, 1982: 37-40).

The confusion of existing documentation does not allow us to totally clarify the history of the Chapel of Braga Cathedral throughout the XVI century despite the recent investigations of João Pedro d'Alvarenga (1986; 1988) having come up with some new information. Hence between 1569 and 1583 appear documentary references to a new Chapel Master, Baltazar Vieira, by whom no work is known and who was succeeded by Pero de Gamboa, possibly in 1585. When the latter changed this post for that or Abbot of S. Salvador de Bente, he must have been succeeded by Lourenço Ribeiro who in 1595 was equally nominated master of the College of São Pedro in the same city. By Lourenço Ribeiro we have in Ms. 965 of the District Archive of Braga a four-part *Missa pro Defunctis* of a conservative style but undeniable polyphonic dexterity based on the contrapuntal treatment of the respective Gregorian melodies, at times as a continuous *cantus firmus* in one voice only at other times in thematic segments which circulate between the voices. As for the 15 motets by Pero de Gamboa preserved in M.M. 40 and 76-79 of the Oporto Municipal Library, it is impossible for us to form any analytical judgement on the basis of the two examples published, since one, the motet *O Crux ave* has a voice completely added by the transcriber and the other, the motet *Surrexit Dominus*, was edited without the fourth voice (Stevenson, 1982: 63-67).

None of the other Portuguese cathedrals seem to have kept up with the musical evolution of Coimbra, Braga or especially Évora during the XVI century, and in reality the majority of them which later came to distinguish themselves in the field of liturgical music did so only when musicians trained in the Évora school were contracted for their service. D. João III and his brother the Infante Cardinal D. Afonso, took the iniciative in 1530 of creating in the Lisbon Cathedral the post of Chapel Master (Alegria, 1985: 73) who in 1551 presided over a group of ten singers and eight choir-boys (Oliveira, 1987: 17). In spite of the episodic presence in the post of the great Spanish polyphonist Alfonso Lobo de Borja, only in the following century, when this post came to be filled by a musician of the category of Duarte Lobo, did the Lisbon Cathedral assume a leading place in the panorama of Portuguese polyphony. In the Oporto Cathedral we only know that in 1542 existed a Chapel Master, Jorge Vaz, and twelve singers, but receiving such paltry salaries compared with their Évora colleagues that it is doubtful whether in these conditions the diocese of Oporto could attract musicians of great quality to its service (Alegria, 1985: 63). In its turn Viseu seems to have already in 1566 contracted as Chapel Master a singer of Évora Cathedral, Ambrósio de Pinho, who was followed in 1583 by one João de Escalante, but only in the beginning of the XVII century did this institution reach any note in the domain of sacred Music thanks to the nomination of Lopes Morago to the same post (Joaquim, 1944: 100-101). As for Guarda we know that in the mid-century the Master of the Chapel of Bishop D. João de Portugal was the already mentioned Spanish composer Dom Francisco de Santa Maria, who later came to exercise identical functions in the Coimbra Cathedral and later the Monastery of Santa Cruz (Pinho, 1981: 171-172). Finally, with respect to Lamego, only in 1606 do we find references to the contracting of a Chapel Master, also a former singer of Évora Cathedral: António Lucas or António Lucas Delgado, by whom has reached us in a codex of the Cathedral itself a *Benedictus* and a *Magnificat* in 4 voices without special artistic merit (Costa, 1976).

Of the new dioceses created in the XVI century, Portalegre, established in 1549, had Manuel Mendes as Chapel Master before he entered in 1575 the personal service of the Infante Cardinal D. Henrique, and later one of Mendes disciples, António Ferro, who gained some national reputation as a teacher of music while in this post, but this prestige seems to have been short-lived (Nery, 1984:

168, 173, 176). For its turn, of the Cathedral of Elvas, instituted in 1570, we only know that one of its first prelates was concerned to guarantee the creation of a qualified musical structure though budgetry allowances and regular adequate measures; but we have no indication of any musician of consequence who served there in the XVI century beyond an obscure Manuel Garcia or Manuel Garcia Sueiro at the end of the century of whom nothing more is known (Alegria, 1985: 115-120).

OTHER CENTRES OF POLYPHONIC ACTIVITY

Parallel with the cathedral centres from the beginning of the XVI century other ecclesiastical institutions made a point of including polyphonic music in their liturgys with more or less emphasis.

This was the case of some collegiate churches whose earnings allowed them to maintain a sufficiently large professional clergy to guarantee regular performance of polyphony in their worship, of large establishments like the Hospital de Todos os Santos in Lisbon and especially of large convents and monasteries in which the musical component of the liturgy, whether monodic or polyphonic, was naturally the responsability of the inmates.

In the heart of this last group of religious institutions the members of the Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho stand out, a powerful and influential institution whose seat was the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra which also owned the opulent monastery of São Vicente de Fora where the King frequently attended liturgical ceremonies. Here also there is no clear evidence of the first introduction of polyphony in worship but an obituary of the order mentions that one of the Priors of Santa Cruz, D. João de Noronha (d. 1506), could have been the composer of «various ecclesiastical motets» and responsible for putting «4 musicians with good voices in the polyphonic choir» of the congregetion (Pinho, 1985: 165).

In the exact words of the *Livro de constitviçoens e costvmes* (Book of constitutions and customs) printed in Coimbra in 1558 and complemented by a vast number of manuscript regulations from the same period, the performance of chant by the choir was the responsibility of four more experienced singers, two of whom received the title of *cantor-mor (principal singer)*. The first *cantor-*

-mor could jointly hold this title with that of Choir Master being equally responsible for directing the performance of polyphonic music, as well as orienting the teaching of notation and counterpoint in the monastery. All the novices admitted to the order received music lessons for several years including not only the study of singing but the practical study of a wide range of instruments with emphasis on keyboards but also including the viol, the harp and wind instruments. The inmates with better voices were selected for the polyphonic choir (as opposed to the choir of chant in which the whole congregation took part) and their obituaries always referred to their vocal talents as a quality of especial merit mentioning whether they sang «treble», «countertenor», «tenor» or bass and also if they had a good «throat» meaning that they knew how to ornament their individual vocal lines in a virtuoso manner.

From among the canons of Santa Cruz that were distinguished in the XVI century for their musical accomplishments D. Heliodoro de Paiva (+ 1552) and D. Francisco de Santa Maria (+ 1597) stand out. D. Heliodoro, who was foster-brother of D. João III, made his mark in various humanistic disciplines including Theology and the Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages.

At the same time «he was a most capable singer and musician and composer of counterpoint [...] played the organ and claviorganum with remarkable air and grace; played the viol and played the harp making it sing with the greatest sweetness which carried away those who heard him [...]» (id.: 166). Referred to by the same source as the composer of «many Masses, polyphonic magnificats and the most sweet motets» there have reached us probably by him a certain number of vocal compositions still to be transcribed today as well as keyboard works to which we will refer in due course. As for D. Francisco, a Spanish composer born in Ciudad Rodrigo we see him become successively Choir Master of the Cathedrals of Guarda and Coimbra and then for around thirty years holding the posts of cantor-mor and Choir Master of Santa Cruz. His compositions also await study and transcription as is the case with the vast majority of pieces preserved in the dozens of musical manuscripts of Santa Cruz de Coimbra actually belonging to the General Library of Coimbra University.

Musical activity in the Monastery was not limited to the strictly liturgical matters. In spite of restrictions more or less in practice, D. Francisco de Santa Maria himself is referred to in his obituary as author of «many songs and other gallanteries» (id.: 166) as well

as having composed choruses for various neo-Latin tragedies which were played in the Monastery, specifically for the famous performance of the tragedy *Sederias* by the Jesuit Luis da Cruz made in 1570 for the visit of King D. Sebastião to Coimbra (Rees, 1989). But in spite of this reality there is no doubt that the essential musical preoccupation of the canons of S. Cruz was concerned with the solemnity and splendour of the liturgical ceremonies for which reason the chronicles of the order took pride in citing elogies made of these ceremonies by outside personalities like the chief chaplain of Portugal, D. Jorge de Ataíde who in front of Filipe II praised them as superior to those of the Escorial, or like the famous Basque jurist and theologian Martin de Azpilcueta who mentioned them in Rome as a model of balance between the use of polyphony and respect for sacred texts (Pinho, 1981: 35, 45-46).

The last of the great XV century musical institutions referred to in this exposition is the University where since 1323 there had been a Master of Music. Transferred to Coimbra in 1537 by D. João III and re-structured there in 1544 it was the monarch himself who took the iniciative to propose for Professor of the chair of Music in the same year the Choir Master of Évora Cathedral, Mateus de Aranda who was contracted for the same salary he had been paid in Évora, 60 000 réis. Aranda remained in his post until his death in 1548 and wâs succeeded by Pedro Trigueiros (+ 1553), Afonso Perea Bernal (+ 1593) and Pedro Correia (+ 1610) of whom only Bernal achieved some fame as a theoretician thanks to an edited and revised translation of the celebrated *Arte de canto llano* by the spaniard Juan Martinez (1532) posthumously published in 1597 (Sampayo Ribeiro, 1964).

If D. João III held high hopes with regard to the consequences of the Chair of Music, objectively speaking we can consider that in the main part they were frustrated. The salary of Mateus de Aranda in spite of being considerable in the context of the normal remunerations of Portuguese musicians of the time was by far the lowest of all the Professors of Coimbra and continued unaltered for his successors for more than seventy years. In the few years of his tenure Aranda was plunged in heavy atmosphere of ill-will and humiliation against which he struggled in vain to obtain legal satisfaction in cases which dragged on until his death without solution. The University quickly took the opportunity to overload the Professor of Music with the extra functions of Choir Master as if they were trying to obtain at any cost a specific service from a post

that was clearly seen as superfluous (Alegria, 1952: 27-43). The result of this situation was a clear difficulty in obtaining properly qualified candidates for a post that only in the XVII century would become the temporary object of consideration by the university authorities and would then pass a brief period of prestige with masters like Pedro Talésio and Fr. António de Jesus.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

There is something ghostly in any attempt to define Portuguese instrumental practice in the XVI century since there is a dramatic contrast between the abundance of literary and documentary references and the total absence of musical sources excepting those relating to keyboard instruments.

In the field of plucked instruments in which the generic term *viola* or *hand viola* includes both four or five course guitars or the six-course *vihuela* we find an impressive number of enthusiastic allusions to performers of the top level. We already mentioned Luis de Victoria and Alexandre de Aguiar, noblemen who served as viola players respectively the Infante D. Luís and the King D. Sebastião. Among others appear the names of Peixoto da Pena, who made a name for himself in the court of the Emperor Carlos V as being able to adapt his hand to an out-of-tune guitar in such way that «he could make consonances and leave his listeners in a state of sweet suspension» (Vieira, 1990: II, 158), and of Domingos Madeira who, accompanying D. Sebastião on his tragic Morrocan adventure, provoked superstitions reaction in his traveling companions by singing on board ship the romance *Ayer fuiste Rey de España/hoy no tienes un castillo (Yesterday you were king of Spain/today you have no castle)* (Viterbo, 1932: 346). However not one work by these or other XVI century violistas has reached us and we can only have an idea of the repertory of this instrument in the Portuguese court by study of the probably similar publications of the Spanish vihuela players like Luis de Milán, who in 1535 dedicated his book *El Maestro* to our King D. João III, or of Miguel de Fuenllana, who between 1574 and 1577, twenty years after having published his *Orphenica Lyra*, was in the employment of D. Sebastião (id.: 226-227). By Milán in particular there have reached us in *El Maestro* some songs for voice and vihuela on Portuguese texts that for certain

would not have been very different to those with which — according to an eye-witness — Alexandre de Aguiar and Domingos Madeira impressed Filipe II and his followers when the Kings of Portugal and Spain met in the monastery of Guadalupe in Christmas of 1576 (Vieira, 1900: I, 6-7), hence the especially effusive terms of the dedication of the volume to the Portuguese king: «The sea in which this book is found is without doubt the kingdom of Portugal which is the sea of music, where music is as valued as it is understood.»

Disappeared also is the *Arte de música para tanger o instrumento da Charamelinha* (The art of playing the shawn) by André de Escobar, shawn-player of the Évora and Coimbra Cathedrals and later (1579) of the University, and no example has survived of the repertory for instrumental groups that the poet and musician Jorge de Montemor describes in his *Diana* (1559), alluding to the combination of four viols and clavichord, of lute, harp and psaltery, of flute and fiddle, or of three trumpets and sackbut (Freitas Branco, 1959: 74). The same type of ensembles appear in the visual art of the period especially in painting (Sampayo Ribeiro, 1943) and the strict connection of similar representations to the world of practical music is clear, nominally in a description of 1542 of a group of angel musicians celebrating the Ascension of the Virgin which decorated the tomb of D. Afonso Henriques in Santa Cruz, Coimbra:

> [...] each one with his musical instrument, some playing organs, others flutes, others shawms, others viols, others harps, citterns, others psalterys so that the sight suggest hearing symphony, melody, and music as if performed on that day. (Pinho, 1981: 136.)

If it is true that in the case of Portugal we were unequally penalized with respect to the disappearance of sources of XVI century instrumental music its worth making clear that a large part of the music of this kind made in the Peninsula, especially when of a soloistic kind, had an improvised character and never came to be written down. On the other hand the theoretical Spanish treatises on instrumental practice make clear that the harmonic instruments, like the vihuela or the organ, frequently adapted vocal polyphony for their use and that instrumental ensembles did the same whether in relation to vocal repertory or to music for keyboards or plucked-string instruments. There is consequently no reason that we cannot perform today in the same terms — and in agreement with the

rules of the age which have come down to us in this respect — a good part of the Portuguese XVI century vocal music which despite everything has come down to us.

In the field of keyboard music various fundamental sources are also missing. In 1536, for example, D. João III granted to Gonçalo de Baena, his chamber musician, a necessary licence to print «his work and art on playing» which would have been the first printed volume of keyboard music by a Peninsular author but either the edition never came into being or no copy survived (Vieira, 1900: I, 82). Also missing is the manuscript of the *Arte de escrever por* Cifra of the Portuguese poet and composer Gregório Silvestre (+ 1570), who was organist of Granada cathedral, and the *Livro de cifras de obras para tanger em tecla* by Pêro Pimentel (+ 1599), organist of Coimbra Cathedral which would have been printed in this city (Nery, 1984: 192-193, 225). There survive however two sources of extraordinary importance, the manuscripts M.M. 48 and 242 of the General Library of Coimbra University, both coming from the fund of documents of the Santa Cruz Monastery.

The first of these documents seems to have been copied just before 1559 and constitutes a vast anthology of instrumental versions of vocal polyphonic works of the principal composers of the Franco-Flemish school of the first half of the XVI century, including Arcadelt, Baston, Cadéac, Canis, Clemens non papa, Crecquillon, Gombert, Hellinck, Jannequin, L'Héritier, Mouton, Patie, Richafort, Verdelot and Willaert, and which include ten *ricercari* by the Flemish Jacques Buus obviously copied from his *Libro Primo* printed in Venice in 1547 (Kastner, 1969: XIV-XVI). The importance of this source is obvious in that, it at the same time documents the penetration in Portugal of Franco-Flemish repertory of the late Renaissance at the time of its composition as well as the above mentioned practice of the adaptation of vocal literature for keyboard instruments, in general implying the command of a sophisticated technique of virtuosic ornamentation as well the knowledge in the Portuguese musical circles of the most advanced European practices in terms of a repertory explicitly and idiomatically conceived for the keyboard.

Even more revealing is the M.M. 242 which, judging by the watermark of the paper, had been compiled around 1588 and in which is preserved, in addition to Franco-Flemish vocal compositions similar to those in the previous document, works for keyboard by the Spaniards Bermudo, Cabezón and Yepes and the Portuguese Heliodoro

de Paiva, António Carreira and António de Macedo, these last constituting the first known examples of instrumental music by local authors. Paiva (+1552), a Canon of the Monastery of Santa Cruz, to whom we have already referred on account of his multiple musical talents, gives us here three splendid examples of the renaissance *Tento* for keyboard already strongly influenced by the model of the Italian *ricercare* and even more closely, in their contrapuntal texture and austere imitation stripped of any purely instrumental virtuosity, of vocal polyphonic models. It is to be noted on the other hand that there is no distinction in these works between the various keyboard instruments as well as no compositional characteristics specifically intended for the organ, harpsichord or for the clavichord. This is in fact a common rule in the Peninsula where publications of works of this nature are always announced, following the *Livro de Cifra Nueva* (1557) by Luys Venegas de Henestrosa, as equally destined for keyboard, harp or vihuela (Kastner, 1965: XII, XVI-XIX).

The evolution of instrumental practice in this period could not, it is clear, have happened without the parallel flourishing of the construction and repair of music instruments in Portugal. D. João III had in his service between at least 1523 and 1551 a Dutch harpsichord builder, Copym de Holanda, who in official documents is called «master of constructing our harpsichords» with duty of «tempering and stringing and making other corrections to our instruments» (Viterbo, 1932: 284-285), and also an organ builder in the service of the royal chapel, Mestre João, to whom a letter of 1540 attributes the duty «to always keep in tune the organs of the said chapel» and of the various royal residences. In 1551 the *Summario em que brevemente se contem algumas cousas [...] que ha na cidade de Lisboa* (The Summary in which are briefly related some things [...] existing in the city of Lisbon) by Cristóvão Rodrigues de Oliveira, are mentioned the existence in the capital of four «clavichord carpenters» and three «organ carpenters» (Oliveira, 1987: 95). At our disposal are innumerable references to other XVI century organ builders with emphasis on Bento de Solorzano (fl. 1595-1606) and especially on the great Heitor Lobo, builder of the organ of the Oporto Cathedral (1537), of Santa Cruz de Coimbra (before 1541) and possibly as well of the Évora Cathedral (between 1544 and 1553), the only one, in spite of being much altered, still existent, of which the gilding of the case was completed in 1562 (Alegria, 1985: 64-66; Pinho, 1981: 128-133).

Even more numerous are the documentary references to *violeiros* (guitar makers), with pride of place for Diogo Dias who in 1551 was admitted to the service of D. João III (Viterbo, 1932: 171). In the same year the already mentioned *Summario* of Rodrigues de Oliveira tells us that there were sixteen *violeiros* in Lisbon alone and the profession in 1572 was made the object or regulation by *Livro dos Regimentos dos officiaes mecanicos* (Book of rules for craftsmen) compiled by Duarte Nunes de Leão on the order of the Lisbon Senate. This indicates that the respective craftsmen should be able to construct not only violas of four, five and six courses but also treble and bass viols and even harps (Morais, 1975: 71). At least one of these XVI century Portuguese string instruments has survived: a five-course guitar by Belchior Dias which today belongs to the collection of the Royal College of Music, in London.

A particularly interesting case is once again that of Santa Cruz de Coimbra where all the instruments described above as necessary for the performance of music were made in the Monastery itself. The *Cónegos* Dom Luis (+ 1565), Dom Baptista de São João (ordained in 1563) and Dom Jerónimo dos Anjos were experts in clavichord construction, Dom Germão (+ 1565) was gifted as of «great ingenuity especially in making by hand everything in brasstube making», including organ-pipes, and Dom João, who died in 1590, aged 82, made «every instrument, harpsichords, clavichords, viols, plucked instruments», being attributed to him the building of a harpsichord and a group of viols which were offered to D. António, future Prior of Crato, in 1558 (Pinho, 1981: 141, 154-156).

CHAPTER II

THE MANNERIST PERIOD

2.1 — The Birth of Portuguese Musical Mannerism

From the middle of the XVI century, Portuguese overseas policy began to suffer a series of important reversals with defeats that forced us to retreat from almost all the Moroccan territories. The commercial competition of Venetians and Turks and later the maritime rivality of the English and Dutch compromised in decisive form the Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade and forced the closure of our commercial connection with Antwerp as well as affecting all the economic interests centred on the route to India on which was pinned for decades an artificial and precarious sense of prosperity. The crisis of national identity which this process of political, economic and social exaustion created joined with the effects of a general crisis of values in a Europe lacerated by the religious conflicts leading from the outbreak of the Reformation, by peasant-movements violently repressed, by the unstablising effects of the unstoppable rise of capitalism and by the increasingly worrying Turkish threat.

Against this background is seen the full flowering of the Counter-Reformation, whose principal objective in ideological terms was to rid the country of a potentially secular world picture installed, on the one hand in a pragmatic and experimental world picture in line with the new realities revealed by the Discoveries and, on the other hand, in an intellectual elite formed in the humanistic circles of French and Italian universities. Thus, in 1536, five years after the request presented in this spirit to the Pope by D. João III, the Inquisition was brought to Portugal. It began its activity in 1539 in Lisbon under the direction of the first General-Inquisitor, the Infante-Cardinal D. Henrique, and received its defined form by papal bull of 1547. Already in 1540, the year of the first *autos de fé*, the Holy Office began censuring publications and in 1547 the first

Index of works prohibited by the church was compiled. From now on any book published in Portugal needed a triple licence: of the Crown, of the diocesan ecclesiastical authority and of the Inquisition.

The Jesuits, installed in the country already in 1540, a few months after their creation, rapidly established their own colleges in Coimbra and Lisbon. In 1555 they were put in charge of the most prestigious institution of higher education in the country, the College of Arts of the University of Coimbra, whose Doctors, humanists like André de Gouveia, George Buchanan, Nicolas de Grouchy, João da Costa and Diogo de Teive had been tried by the Holy Office in 1549 and expelled from Portugal in the following years. Also in 1555 the jesuits established the College of the Holy Spirit in Évora, which became the University in 1559, thus completing the final phase of the installation of a virtual Jesuit monopoly of University studies in the country. Portugal actively took part in the Council of Trent, with special mention for the intervention of Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires, Archbishop of Braga, and in 1564 we were the only Catholic country in which the decisions of the Council were entirely promulgated with the force of Law. The repressive activity of the Inquisition, the ideological output and teaching efforts of the Jesuits, and the Tridentine ligislation moulded a new cultural order in which Music best fitted in when, in the best Platonic and Augustinian tradition, it aspired to an ethical and educational effect on the individual and collective human mind.

With respect to the formal guidelines of the Council of Trent on Music, Portuguese çomposers — like their Spanish colleagues — did not have to make large alterations to their normal practice. The contrapuntal excesses and the proliferation of parody-masses on clearly assumed profane themes, typical of post-Josquinian Franco-Flemish polyphony and severely criticised by the Council theologians, never had a great following with us. In Portugal significant voices were not raised demanding the suppression of polyphony in worship in favour of chant, and the opposite point of view was clearly expressed — by way of example — in 1563 by Dom Diogo de São Miguel of the Monastery of Santa Cruz, in the name of this other basis of counter-reforming stategy, the need to attract the faithful to liturgical ceremonies:

> [...] one thing which greatly preserves the devotion of the people and brings the faithful with more regularity to worship is the melody of the chants, which is proved when

> we see more people coming to the churches where the worship is best performed than to those where there is no chant or the singing is not so good. [...] we cannot help confessing that chant is more becoming to the gravity and maturity of the ordained than polyphony: granted that everything dedicated to the glory of our Lord is good. As a general rule there is nothing a good man cannot put to good use, in the same way as there is nothing an evil man cannot pick up and use for ill: thus when a virtuous man sings polyphony he worthily praises the Lord, but when a dissolute man vainly sings chant he wastes his effort [...] [Pinho, 1981, 32-33.]

As for the concern for the clear transmission of the sacred text, it was already a priority of Portuguese liturgical music as Martin de Azpilcueta, leading idealogue of the Counter-Reformation, noted once again with reference to the musical activity of the Cónegos Regrantes:

> [...] the Cónegos of that monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra sang with such spaciousness, clarity and distinctness, that all understood the text of the Masses and of the most divine service [...] [Id.: 42.]

On the same line of thought, extreme care was taken with the text employed in new motets, and in many ecclesiastical institutions they were as a norm checked by a competent theologian so as to avoid doctrinal error, and especially a clear priority, even in the case of fixed liturgical texts, was given to those of more heightened emotional content. Thus we see from now on a reinforced interest in Marian texts like the *Magnificat, Salve Regina, Ave maris stella, Regina caeli* and others exploring a range of intense feelings associated with the image of the Virgin (the *humility* of the Annunciation, the *mysteries* of the Conception and the Expectation, the *wearyness* of the flight from Egypt, the *joy* of the Nativity, the *suffering* of the Passion, the *glory* of the Ressurrection). The same goes for the liturgy of Holy Week, of a dramatic potential — in the theatrical sense — which suits the operatic tendency of Mannerist composers with a content rich in imagery (*betrayal, fear, darkness, pain, death* and *ressurrection*) coinciding with the great doubts and fears of the XVI century man.

However this priority of text over music, of *logos* over *melos*, despite being joined with an ostensible desire to return to the pure

polyphonic models previous to the excesses of the generation after Josquin, ended up by markedly interfering with the immutable application of these same models. As Robert Wolf wrote «without destroying the true Josquin style of the Renaissance, the later period transformed it into the vehicle for a kind of expressivity foreign to this style; it copied the *form* of Josquin but created its own *content*» (1963: 40). Thus we find two parallel — and sometimes connected — tendencies in Portuguese music, both in the last analysis characterised by a gradual undermining of the Renaissance principle of formal equilibrium — if not even of the very concept of a pre-established form of an «architectonic» nature — submitting it to the self-governing laws of the unfolding of musical language itself. In the first case we see a deliberate search for emotional impact by way of a series of expressive effects of greater or lesser intensity: the use of various kinds of candence as a factor controlling the tension of the evolving work, chromaticism, dissonance, modulation, contrasting textures, all used either as a reinforcement of the words of the text or as autonomous emotional stimuli. In the second case we find an apparent emotive distancing seeking beyond everything to impress by dexterous and sophisticated handling of the process of composition with stress on a refined contrapuntal technique in which is clearly evidenced a delight in difficulty, in technical challenge and in compositional juggling.

2.2 — The Main Schools of Sacred Polyphony

THE MUSICAL IMPACT OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

One of the most famous victims of the course of the Counter-Reformation in Portugal is, as is known, the humanist Damião de Góis, denounced to the Inquisition in 1545 and finally judged and condemned in 1571-72 in a process whose consequences led slightly later to his death. Góis travelled throughout Europe and among the gifts which acquired him a considerable reputation in European intellectual circles was his talent as a musician, to the point that in these circles he was nicknamed «the musician». He thus knew the theoretician Glareanus who included in his treatise titled *Dodecachordon* (Basle, 1547), one of the most important musical theory sources of the XVI century, the motet *Ne laeteris* by his Portuguese

friend, presenting the piece as an example of the Aeolian mode, one of the four new tonalities with which the Swiss tried to expand the traditional system of the eight ecclesiastical modes. By Damião de Góis has also reached us *Surge propera*, a five-part motet included in the *Cantiones* by Sigismund Sablinger (Augsburg, 1535) and arguably the 3-voice motet *In die tribulationis*, attributed to «Damianus» in collections published by Scotto (Venice, 1549) and Berg & Neuber (Nuremberg, 1560) (Stevenson, 1982: XXXII). The contempory aesthetic of these works in relation to the tendency of European polyphony of the time and the circumstance of one of the accusations made of the famous humanist by the Holy Office being that in the musical sessions held with friends in his home were sung a different repertory «to the songs usually sung here» (Vieira, 1900: I, 465) are to a degree symptomatic of what had meanwhile become a phase of accentuated isolation in Portuguese musical life in consequence of the Counter-Reformation.

The respect for the decisions of the Council of Trent began to be reflected in the acceptance by Portuguese churches of the liturgical norms approved in the conclave or its sequence, with emphasis on the introduction of the Missal and Roman Breviary published in the pontificate of Pius V, in which were fixed the official version of texts for the mass and the Office throughout the liturgical year. But if even this was not universally imposed, (exceptions were made for specific aspects of the rite of Braga whose antiquity was considered to justify its retention), on the purely musical plane it had an impact of little relevance, in that neither the Council nor the specialized comissions which followed it managed to produce a unified version of Gregorian melodies corresponding to official texts, which could later be applied to the whole of Christianity.

In 1575 the old *Passionarium* of the Royal Chapel (Lisbon: Luis Alvares, 1543), by Jacob Fernandes Fermoso, was replaced by a new one (Leiria: António de Mariz), by Padre Manuel Cardoso, whose printing licence explicity declares that it «conforms to the Missal printed by Plantin, and to the Breviary newly ordained, ordered and printed by decree of the sacred Council of Trent» (Vieira, 1900: I, 207). However, in the face of the absence of unique chant books approved for statutory use by the universal church, it has still to be made clear the origin of the Gregorian melodies with which Cardoso replaced the Passion Music of Fermoso. In 1595 the *Passionarium* of 1575 was itself replaced by the *Liber Passionum* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes) by Fr. Estêvão of the Order of Cristo, who re-

ceived instructions from the Deacon of the Royal Chapel «that should be ordained and accentuated by the Cantoria of the Pope's Chapel the Passions to be sung by the Church in Holy Week» (Nery, 1984: 74). Since there are only small differences between the music of the two volumes we can only conclude that already in 1575 D. Sebastião had ordered to be sent from Rome at least part of the liturgical books used in the Papal Chapel, adopting them for his own Chapel. The same conclusion is to be drawn in that in 1571, when the nephew of Pius V visited the Duke of Bragança in Vila Viçosa, the secretary of the visiting prelate recorded in his description of the journey that «the mass in the ducal chapel followed the Roman rite» (Nery, 1990: 88), suggesting that the Braganças had also tried to follow Roman custom to the letter. But, consulting liturgical books edited in the XVII and XVIII centuries Portugal reveals too much melodic variation and discrepancy in relation to their Roman equivalents for us to conclude that this effort of musical importation had been shared by the Portuguese church in its entirety.

The differences between the musical liturgy as on the one hand celebrated in the Royal Chapels and in those of the Duke of Bragança and on the other, in the major cathedrals of the country, however, are not only to be found in chant. The study of documented descriptions, of the archives and especially of the very works known to have been written in the various institutions, shows us that from the last third of the century onwards, one can begin to speak of a dichotomy between the cathedral repertory, destined for a wide public and for this reason more simple and austere, almost always in an imitative four-voice style, and a repertory exclusive to the palace chapels, bearing in mind an elite audience of sophisticated musical education and showing for this reason a greater openness to more diverse aesthetic traits and to a more marked technical complexity. The same is true of Spain, where the Flemish Chapel, brought to Madrid by Carlos V, remained in operation until the mid-XVII century, always performing a more advanced and more complicated type of polyphony than in the chapels of the main cathedrals, even those of greatest prestige like Seville. This statement is important, for the overwhelming majority of Portuguese polyphony printed in the first half of the XVIII century corresponds precisely to the more conservative type of cathedral repertory and this gives us a parcial and reduced impression of the richness, evolution and internal variety of polyphonic practice in the country. In any case, and independant of these distinctions at the heart of

our sacred music of the age, it is certain that the profound religiosity into which D. João III fell in the last years of his life, the extreme dependance of D. Sebastião on his Jesuit confessors and advisors, the enthronement of the Cardinal-Inquisitor D. Henrique and the general atmosphere of mysticism which tended to dominate Portuguese Culture following the decade of 1550 had as a consequence the accelerated decadence of secular musical activity in the Court. With the loss of Portuguese independance was joined to these factors a general retreat of the high courtly nobility to their provincial country seats in the face of a capital without resident sovereign to attact them to Lisbon. Thus, with the musical life of the courts of the Viceroy and of the Duke of Bragança practically reduced to the liturgical ceremonies celebrated in their respective Chapels, there ceased to be a market and an institutionalised support for secular Music, the great cathedrals from now on being the only openings for our musicians and composers, so that from the last third of the XVI century the mainstream of History of Portuguese Music unfolds in the field of sacred polyphony.

THE HIGH POINT OF THE ÉVORA SCHOOL

Brought from Portalegre to Évora in 1575 by the Cardinal-Infante D. Henrique, as we have seen, Manuel Mendes (+ 1605) came to compose in this city a vast body of music in relation to which the opinion of his contemporaries was of unanymous praise and of which stood out a volume of Masses and another of *Magnificat* which at the time of his death were still unpublished and came to be lost. Hence of this production we only know an *Alleluia* surviving in at least three separate manuscripts (one of which was copied in the Cathedral of Puebla, in Mexico), a Ferial Mass and a Mass for the Dead, both discovered by Manuel Joaquim in respectively the codexes of the Public Library of Évora and the Cathedral of Lamego, and transcribed by him in the decade of the 1940's, happily as since then both sources have detiorated to the point of becoming unreadable. Even more important than his quality as a composer — sufficiently evidenced by above mentioned pieces, revealing a secure and austere contrapuntal *métier* in the style of a Josquin or Morales — is the unrivalled scope of his work as teacher, which began as Master of the Évora Cloister between 1578 and

1589 and apparently carried on until his death, already in the quality of Bachelor of the Cathedral when his old pupil Filipe de Magalhães had taken over his offices. Over more than a quarter of a century, Mendes trained a large body of pupils amongst whom are not only included Fr. Manuel Cardoso, Duarte Lobo and Filipe de Magalhães, without doubt the greatest Portuguese polyphonists of the next generation, but also a vast constellation of deeply competent professionals who came to occupy the most prestigious posts in the Portuguese musical institutions. In the measure which certain of these pupils — notably Lobo but including Magalhães and Ferro — continued his teaching work and themselves taught the Choir-Masters of almost all the principal Portuguese and many Spanish Chapels, it is understandable that Mendes was praised as master «of all good music in this kingdom» or, in terms of some legitimate poetic exaggeration, as «the Sonorous Mendes who filled all Europe with Musicians» (Viterbo, 1932: 42; Nery, 1984: 168-169).

Referred to by a contemporary source as his teacher's «first pupil in wisdom, heir to his virtues, his post and spirits», Filipe de Magalhães (+ 1652) seems to have been the favourite pupil of Manuel Mendes whom he succeeded as Master of the Cloister of Évora Cathedral before coming to Lisbon to hold the posts of Choir Master of the Misericórdia of Lisbon and Master of Music of the Royal Chapel. He became later (1623) Master of the latter institution and was relieved of this post in 1641 because of his advanced age (Viterbo, 1932: 42; Nery, 1984: 161-162). His *Cantica Beatissimae Virginis* and *Missarum liber* were edited in Lisbon in the year 1636, in a printing house founded in the beginning of the century by a pupil of the celebrated Plantin, Pieter van Craesbeeck. Both volumes, especially the second, reveal one of the greatest composers of all Portuguese polyphony, balancing a delicate lyrical content without the emotional vehemence of a Cardoso with a perfect comand of contrapuntal technique that never has the academic component of certain passages of a Lobo (Leal, 1975; Alegria, 1984: 57-92).

Duarte Lobo (1564/69-1646), who, as well as the training he had from Manuel Mendes as choir-boy of Évora Cathedral, studied Philosophy and Theology, was Chapelmaster of the Royal Hospital in Lisbon and later — provenly in 1596 but perhaps since 1591 — of the Lisbon Cathedral, where he came to acquire the titles of *Quartenário* and Rector of the Seminary of S. Bartolomeu. Responsible, as we will see below, for the training of a large number of pupils, he was recognised by contemporaries as especially giftedp

in the theoretical field: the poet Manuel de Faria e Sousa refers to him as «Lobo, shinning in theory», and as «the learned Lobo», and João Soares de Brito as «most skilled in the Art of Music» (Borges, 1986: 3, 78). His vast polyphonic opus had the privilege (unique among the composers of the Évora school) not only to have been printed in the greater part but that this was confided to one of the musical editors of greatest European prestige, the house of Plantin, in Antwerp: thus appearing *Opuscula*, of 1602, *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis*, of 1605, *Liber Missarum*, of 1621 and the *Liber II Missarum*, of 1639, which circulated widely throughout Europe and Latin-America. It is difficult to make an aesthetic evaluation of his works, of which only the *Magnificat* and a *Requiem Mass* are available in modern edition. The known works show a serious, austere style of extreme correctness in the handling of dissonance and cadential formulae, suggesting we are hearing the Portuguese polyphonist closest in style to Palestrina. Should we be as familiar with his *Opuscula*, an early publication, perhaps we should have a different idea on account of the variety of rhythmic writing and the multiple polychoral play of up to 11 voices, however a missing tenor part renders complete transcription impossible (Joaquim, 1945; Borges, 1986).

Fr. Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650) must in many aspects be considered the most original creative personality of the Évora School. From his teacher, Manuel Mendes, he inherited the science and taste for counterpoint, which was always his most respected attribute, but to the rigor of imitation and the artifice of canonic writing he joined a highly personalised expressive language, constantly employing augmented and diminished intervals, the pleasure of unprepared dissonance, of chromaticism and a frankly heterodox use of modality. Chapelmaster of the Convent of Carmo for more than sixty years, he was, despite an evangelical poverty praised by all his biographers, the object of innumerable proofs of respect, whether by Philip IV of Spain or by D. João, Duke of Bragança — the future D. João IV, whom he probably taught. He left us five volumes of polyphony, all printed in Lisbon by Craesbeeck: the *Cantica Beatae Virginis* (1613), which contrast in the freedom of the handling of the genre with those of his contemporaries, the *Liber Primus Missarum* (1625), the *Liber Secundus Missarum* (1636), in which the various Masses were constructed on pre-existent themes selected by D. João, Duke of Bragança, the *Liber Tertius Missarum* (1636), which contains six Masses on a theme by Philip IV to whom the

volume is dedicated, concluding with a Mass in which here and there is heard a small melodic theme with the words «Philippus Quartus», and lastly the *Livro de Varios Motetes* (1648) in which are included the Lessons of Holy Week which are for certain the most moving works of Portuguese musical Mannerism. Unfortunately, not one of his polychoral works for 8, 9 and 12 voices which existed in the Library of D. João IV has reached us, which denies us the knowledge of a significant facet of his artistic production (Alegria: 1983; Nery 1990: 108-110, 153-156).

The third generation of the School of Évora, for which were responsible some of the most prestigious pupils of Manuel Mendes, also produced an important number of musicians whose quality is witnessed not only in the general praises of their contemporaries but in the simple statement of the posts of top rank they came to hold, in Spain as well, in an age when they had to compete with pupils trained in both the Cathedral Schools of the neighbouring country and the Flemish Chapel of Madrid, directed by notable composers and academics like Géry de Ghersem, Carlos Patiño or Matthieu Rosmarin.

Of the disciples of Mendes, the one who acquired greatest reputation as a teacher was without doubt Duarte Lobo, whose pupil António Fernandes praised in 1626:

> The great sufficiency and rare doctrine of such subtle and qualified work which [Lobo] has been richly shown us, and the copious disciples whom in the thirty years until today have left the Cloister of our holy Cathedral of Lisbon for many and diverse of these kingdoms of Portugal and Castille all taught by the hand and the discipline of your Reverence. [Fernandes, 1626: VI-VII.]

In point of fact, as can be seen in the above plan, Lobo not only trained his immediate successors as Masters of Lisbon Cathedral (João Alvares Frouvo and Nicolau da Fonseca) but those musically responsible for some of the Capital's principal churches (Misericórdia, Mártires, Santa Justa, Santo Elói) and of some of the main convents (Paulists, Trinitarians and Carmelites), a Doctor of Music of Coimbra University (Fr. António de Jesus) and one of the most infuential and, in spite of everything, original authors in the recognisedly limited and conservative field of XVII century Portuguese musical theory — the already mentioned Fernandes, author of an

Arte de Música (1626) composed of a very clear summary of the essential norms of chant and of polyphony and of a short exposition on elements of accoustics which show a thorough understanding of the teaching of Zarlino on matters not always present in our XVII century texts of the same kind. If his pupils made a mark of solid professionalism in the fulfillment of their various prestigious posts, the two who came to most distinguish themselves as composers were Manuel Machado, singer of the Spanish Royal Chapel, who gained special notoriety as a composer of secular vocal repertory, and Gonçalo Mendes Saldanha, whose works circulated as much in the Peninsula as in the cathedrals of Columbia and Mexico, being famous for his sacred villancicos. In both these cases it is curious to note that we are dealing with areas for which Lobo himself did not appear to show great interest.

In the case of Filipe de Magalhães, the list of his disciples is frankly shorter but his three known pupils are without any doubt the three greatest polyphonists of the immediately posterior generation. The first of these disciples is Estêvão Lopes (or Estebán López) Morago, born in 1575 in the Spanish city of Vallecas, in the kingdom of Toledo, and from early youth resident in Portugal, where in 1596 he became a Bachelor of the University of Évora. Master of the Chapel of the Cathedral of Viseu from 1599 to 1628, the year in which he left his post without giving indication of his destination, he left us a vast polyphonic production from which stand out his Motets and Hymns in 4 parts where an austere counterpoint combines with a frequently dissonant harmonic language of profound expressive impact (Joaquim, 1961). Estêvão de Brito (+ 1641), another of the great pupils of Magalhães, had the opposite course of life to Morago, in that, Portuguese by birth and education, he spent his professional life in Spain, first from 1596 as Chapel-Master of Badajoz Cathedral, and later from 1613 until his death with the same functions in Malaga. His compositions oscillate between the luxurious counterpoint of his Motets, which frequently employ agitated rhythmic figures of ornamental character and prefer dense single-choir textures of 5 or 6 voices (although in some cases he wrote for 8 voices divided in two alternating choirs) and a pungently expressive language close to that of Cardoso which reaches the extreme — as was traditional with Iberian polyphonists — in his *Lamentations of Holy Week*. Of the third known disciple of Magalhães, Fr. Manuel Correia, we will speak later in dealing with XVII century religious villancicos.

The School of Manuel Mendes and its Diffusion

Fr. Manuel Cardoso — Lisbon: Convent of Carmo.

António Ferro — Portalegre: Cathedral.
Manuel Leitão de Avilez — Granada: Cathedral.
João Gomes — Vila Viçosa: Ducal Chapel (treasurer).
Manuel Tavares — Múrcia: Cathedral.
Cuenca: Cthedral.

Simão dos Anjos de Gouveia — Coimbra: University.

Duarte Lobo — Lisbon: Hospital de Todos os Santos.
Lisbon: Cathedral.
João Duzid — Lisbon: Misericordia Church.
Badajoz: Cathedral.
Henrique de Faria — Lisbon: Santa Justa Church.
Lisbon: Mártires Church.
António Fernandes (theoretician).
Fr. João Fogaça — Serra de Ossa: Convent of São Paulo
Lisbon: Royal Library of Music (librarian).
Nicolau da Fonseca — Lisbon: Cathedral.
João Alvares Frouvo — Lisbon: Cathedral.
Lisbon: Royal Library of Music (librarian).
Fr. Gil — Lisbon: Convent of the Ordem Terceira.
Fr. António de Jesus — Coimbra: University.
Fr. Miguel Leal — Alcobaça: Monastery.
Fr. António da Madre de Deus — Lisbon: Convent of Carmo.
Manuel Machado — Madrid: Royal Chapel (musician).
D. João de Palencia — Madrid: Royal Chapel (singer).
João da Purificação — Lisbon: Church of Santo Elói.
Gaspar dos Reis — Braga: Cathedral.
Gonçalo Mendes Saldanha.

António Lucas — Lamego: Cathedral.

Filipe de Magalhães — Évora: Cathedral (Master of the Cloister).
Lisbon: Royal Chapel.
Estêvão de Brito — Badajoz: Cathedral.
Málaga: Cathedral.
Fr. Manuel Correia — Siguença: Cathedral.
Saragoça: Cathedral.
Estêvão Lopes Morago — Viseu: Cathedral.

João Mendes Monteiro — Madrid: Royal Chapel (singer).

Manuel Rebelo — Évora: Cathedral.
Pedro da Fonseca Luzio — Vila Viçosa: Ducal Chapel.
António Vieira — Lisbon: Misericórdia Church.
António Rodrigues Vilhalva — Lisbon: Hospital.
Évora: Cathedral.

Note. — Unless otherwise indicated the post held is always of Chapel Master.

POLYPHONIC MUSIC IN OTHER INSTITUTIONS

The School of Évora in the brilliance brought to it by its principal disciples naturally stands out in the panorama of polyphonic activity in Portugal of the Mannerist period. There are however other Portuguese institutions which in the same way show a high quality of musical practice and simultaneously show different characteristics to those of the Évora polyphonists. The first of these institutions is the Monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra whose musical life was maintained, with the same splendour it had earlier reached, until at least the end of the XVII century. From the emphasis we have underlined given to the musical education of its in-mates it is to be understood that the canons of Santa Cruz had a noteworthy constellation of musicians in their cloisters, from singers and instrumentalists to theoreticians and composers.

Amongst the last, stands out the figure of D. Pedro de Cristo (+ 1618), who was Chapel Master in the two principal convents of his Order, Santa Cruz, in Coimbra, and São Vicente de Fora, in Lisbon, and whose surviving polyphonic production amounts to more than two hundred works. One of his obituaries tells us that «he had particular skill for *chansonetas* and happy music» (Pinho, 1982: 177) but in this genre he left us only six sacred villancicos. All the rest of his work falls within the scope of sacred polyphony in which he shows himself a contrapuntalist of note, generally remaining faithful to the traditional 4-voice texture but using a large palette of the effects and processes of polyphonic writing, from a declamatory style to strict imitation between the various voices, from the use of agitated rhythmic figures which interconnect stable and consonant structural points, to that of long notes in which the resolution of a dissonance in one voice super-imposes on the appearance of a new dissonance caused by another voice, from contrapuntal elaboration around a traditional *cantus firmus* in the tenor to imitation between pairs of voices in the tradition of Josquin. The publication of his complete works is expected soon, transcribed and studied by Ernesto Gonçalves de Pinho.

Also from Santa Cruz, stands out D. Pedro da Esperança (+ 1660), to whom we will refer in dealing with instrumental music, and his contemporary D. Gabriel de São João, mentioned in this obituary as «most expert in all the musical arts» [id.: 189-190]. A large part of the music of the canons of Santa Cruz in the XVII century, with emphasis on a vast number of villancicos and similar

works in the vernacular, appears in the various musical manuscripts of the Order, today preserved in the General Library of Coimbra University without indication of authorship, which should not prevent passage into modern notation and study of the most important examples, in that this is a most rich repertory frequently showing an innovative polyphonic practice resorting to effects like polychoralism, accompanied monody and abligato instrumental writing which the printed works of the Évora masters do not, as we have seen, consider.

The Royal Chapel, in spite of the negative effects on its activity of the lack of a resident sovereign in Lisbon, was also maintained as an institution of great relevance in Portuguese musical life. After António Carreira, whose work we will discuss in dealing with the instrumental repertory, the post of Chapel Master was entrusted in 1594 to Francisco Garro, a Spanish composer born in the kingdom of Navarre, who in 1609 had published by Pedro Craesbeeck two collections of sacred polyphony: a choir-book with two Antiphons in 5 and 6 parts, four Masses in 4, 5 and 6 parts and three motets in six parts and a part-book edition of three masses in 8 parts and one in 12, three Lessons of the Departed in 8 parts and three Alleluias also in 8. As a whole both editions constitute the first volumes of polyphony printed in Portugal, and from what is known of their content give proof of a contrapuntal virtuosity and a taste for polychoralism that seem to reveal some influence of the Flemish composers in the service of the Royal Chapel of Madrid. Garro's successor was, as we have seen, Filipe de Magalhães, who relieved in 1641, passed his duties to the brother of João Soares, Rebelo, Marcos Soares Pereira, especially valued by D. João IV, whose works have however been totally lost.

One centre of polyphonic activity particularly influential for the whole of the Philipine domination was Vila Viçosa, seat of the Dukes of Bragança, which since the creation of the title had always tried to rival the splendour of its Chapel with that of the Royal Chapel and had obtained from the Pope numerous endowments and privileges for its functioning. A description of the Ducal Chapel at the time of Duke D. Teodósio II (1568-1630), father of the future King D. João IV, tells us in effect:

> Great was the magnificence of his Chapel, furnished in manner of royalty, beginning with the Dean, who was always a Gentleman, the chief Treasurer, sixteen Chaplains, Choir-

> Boys, Singers, Musicians and instruments in which were employed many persons involving an expenditure of nine and ten thousand cruzados per annum. [...] He favoured the best of this profession [= Music], happily, for he attracted many to his service by great prizes and so acquired the most qualified of all Spain and put them to the services of his Chapel whose expenditure and decoration was Royal. [Nery, 1990: 88-89.]

Among the Masters of the Ducal Chapel of this period was António Pinheiro who may have studied with the great Spanish polyphonist Francisco Guerrero, the above-mentioned Francisco Garro, whose professional course between the Chapels of Vila Viçosa and Lisbon has still to be made clear, and Roberto Tornar, a musician of English — or possibly Irish — origin who at the expense of the House of Bragança studied in Madrid whith Géry de Ghersem and Matthieu Rosmarin, respectively Vice-Master and Master of the Spanish Royal Chapel and the two favourite disciples of Rosmarin's predecessor as Master, the Flemish Philippe Rogier. The decision of Duke D. Teodósio to send Tornar to Madrid and not to Évora, in spite of the good relations between the House of Bragança and the Évora Cathedral, seeing that the post of archbishop was often filled by members of the ducal family, reveals a special predeliction for the Flemish school of Madrid, known for the extreme contrapuntal complexity of its writing for vocal textures of 6, 8, 12 and more voices. Rogier himself had comissions for works to be performed in the Chapel of the Bragança Dukes.

In 1609 the Dukes had inaugurated the College of the Santos Reis Magos, an institution devoted to the musical training and subsequent professional orientation of Choir-Boys along similar lines to those in force in the Évora Cathedral School, which guaranteed a supply of qualified children's voices in the Ducal Chapel (Alegria, 1983b: 205-226). Paralell to his duties as Chapel Master, Tornar also taught in the College, but his professional function did not end here in that the Duke confided him with the musical education of his son, the young Duke of Barcelos, D. João (1604-1656) who with the Restauration later came to the Portuguese throne. In reality D. Teodósio was advised on the birth of D. João not to give his heir too sophisticated a humanistic education at risk of giving the Government of Madrid the idea that the child was being prepared for the throne, and hence decided that his son should receive some

training in liturgical Latin and from thence the typical education of a great nobleman, concentrating his intellectual development in the politically unsuspicious realm of music. According to his biographers, D. João began by showing some animosity to the obligatory nature of his musical studies, but in late adolescence ended up by finding in himself a growing interest for Music for which the decisive factor was his friendship with the young João Lourenço Rebelo, who was in his employment, and to have at the same time known Fr. Manuel Cardoso, whom everything points to having been his second teacher (Nery, 1990: 96-110).

In heriting in 1630 the Dukedom of Bragança, on the death of his father, D. João from this time dedicated the greater part of his free time and all the human and financial resources at his disposal from the immense power of his House, to the aquisition of Music for his Chapel. Establishing ties of patronage with the best Portuguese polyphonists, namely those of the School of Évora, whose editions appear to have been in the greater part subsidised by him, as well as, through the offices of his personal agent in Madrid, with various musicians of the Spanish Royal Chapel, like Matthieu Rosmarin or Carlos Patino. He regulraly received from all of them new works which he enjoyed analysing or having them performed by the musicians of his Chapel, whether within the regular liturgical ceremonies or in private sessions. The scale of this effort of acquisition was gradually expanded with the help of foreign editors and distributors who systematically acquired practically everything recently edited in the European musical market, and on his enthronement the machinery of State diplomacy came to take over this role. It is curious to read the correspondence of the monarch and his secretaries with Portuguese ambassadors in the principal European courts immediately after the Restoration and to see that on a level with the detailed instructions as to the best way to conduct the most delicate diplomatic negotiations on which depended the recognition and survival of our independence, our ministers received, in the same detail, orders pertaining to the acquisition of new books of Music for the monarch's Library, in growingly uncommon quantities and prices (id.: 203-223).

The Music Library thus built up became rapidly the largest in Europe. In the partial catalogue alone printed in Lisbon in 1649, are accounted for not only around two thousand printed volumes but also approximately four thousand pieces of manuscript Music. The editions seem to have been acquired without any criterium

of selection beyond the clear will to possess everything published in the market of Musical editions since the 1570's. They constitute a reference collection without immediate intention of performance or even of study. The attention of the monarch was especially concentrated on the manuscripts, in which are represented more than two hundred authors of various nationalities with particular stress on those of the various Iberian polyphonic schools. These were the works which the Choir sung daily and which the sovereign judged one by one, arriving at the point of classifying them as *Very Good*, *Good* and *Condemned*, sending those which fell in to the last category to a shelf marked *Hell*. This immense bibliographic treasure was unfortunately completely destroyed by the earthquake of 1755, without, by its nature strictly reserved for the King and a handful of musicians of his intimate circle, having had any marked influence on the destiny of Portuguese music.

D. João IV was himself a composer and musical theorist. In the first capacity we cannot evaluate his work today; the two pieces indisputedly created by him have not reached us complete, and the compositions which today circulated under his name — an *Adjuva nos* and a *Crux fidelis* — were ascribed to him by sources too late for them to be accepted without the greatest reservations. Once and for all it is underlined that the famous *Adeste fideles*, sung throughout the world at Christmas, and which is still frequently abusively ascribed to the Restorer is clearly a piece composed almost a century after the death of the King and seems to have arisen in XVIII century English Catholic circles. In contrast, there have reached us two theoretical treatises which D. João had printed, the first in Spanish and later in Italian translation so as to guarantee wide circulation: the *Defensa de la Musica moderna contra la errada opinion del Obispo Cyrilo Franco* (Defence of modern music against the wrong opinion of Bishop Cyrilo Franco) (Lisbon?, 1649 or 1650?), in which the monarch defends the contrapuntal tradition, as evolved since the Renaissance Masters, against the revivalist ideas of the proponents of a «return» to the principles of the Music of Antiquity, and the *Respuestas a las dudas que se pusieron a la Missa Panis quem ego dabo del Palestrina impressa en el quinto libro de sus Missas* (Rome, 1655), in which the apparent deviations by Palestrina from the purity of the Gregorian modal system in the work in question are justified. In both cases we are dealing with works of limited theoretical value beyond the portrait they give of the King's aesthetic-musical point of view, rooted in extreme

fidelity to the Iberian polyphonic tradition, although without excluding a creative evolution within it (id.: 133-151).

As well as his monumental stature as bibliophile the figure of D. João IV deserves special note as a tireless protector of Portuguese Music and musicians, who he sought to stimulate and divulge by all the means at his disposal. From among the composers who benefitted from this protection his undisputed favourite was João Lourenço Rebelo, whose works were sent, still in manuscript, to various composers of his confidence and were finally printed in Rome by Maurizio Balmonti, in spite of the King never having seen the respective edition which only came out in 1657, a year after his death. This publication titled *Psalmi tum Vesperarum, tum Completorii. item, Magnificat, Lamentationes, Miserere*, in fact constitutes the only printed example of our Mannerist polyphony which distances itself from the more aesthetically traditional repertory published for the current use of cathedral choirs by the Masters of the School of Évora. It resorts to an opulent writing for various choirs of voices and specified instruments up to a total of seventeen parts. In this aspect the Psalms of Rebelo represent the «hidden» face of our XVII century polyphonic production, a face especially cultivated in the Ducal — and later Royal — Chapel of D. João, but with strong affinities to the XVII century repertory of Santa Cruz de Coimbra mentioned above.

2.3 — The Instrumental Repertory

As in all the Portuguese musical life of this period, instrumental practice was centred on the sacred realm, whether reinforcing the performance of the vocal repertory or autonomously as a second musical component of the liturgy. In the first case we find a growing number of references to the intervention of the organ and other instruments in the interpretation of vocal polyphony, doubling or even substituting some of the parts of the polyphonic texture; thus the records of the Choirs of the principal Cathedrals often mentioned the expression «singing to the organ» or «singing with the flutes» and the *Ordinario e Cerimonial da Ordem* of the Monastery of Santa Cruz mentions specifically that it was up to the *Cantor-Mor* to choose for this purpose «the instruments and keyboards which he thought suited to the festival when it was necessary to improve

the singing» (Pinho, 1982: 140). On the other hand, we find with ever increasing frequency obligato instrumental parts envisaged by the composers themselves in the manuscript repertory from Santa Cruz of Coimbra (Brito, 1989b: 55-63), with emphasis on the most beautiful Christmas Responses by D. Pedro da Esperança (+ 1660), in which the verse is always written for solo voice, three instruments and basso continuo (Faria, 1977). Around 6% of the manuscript pieces cataloged in 1649 in D. João IV's Music Library (and of these 11% of the villancicos) contained mandatory instrumental parts (Nery, 1990: 801), and in the polychoral Psalms by João Lourenço Rebelo, published in 1657, we find in a single piece up to six instrumental lines simultaneous with the vocal parts (Alegria, 1982). Equally clear in this period is the autonomous instrumental intervention in the midst of the liturgy. In the terms approved by the Council of Trent, the priest was now seen at the moment of the celebration of the liturgy as an *alter Christus* in that none of the texts envisaged for each ceremony were considered valid if the celebrant did not himself recite the text, even inaudibly. Along this line of thought it ceased to be essential that the choir sang these texts in full, their validity already guaranteed by the intervention of the celebrant, and in this manner there was an increasing possbility for the parcial or complete substitution of some of the sung liturgical texts by instrumental versions, for solo or ensemble. It was specifically the case of the Kyrie of the Mass, of the Psalms, of the Hymns and of the *Magnificat* in the Office in which some choral sections were replaced by instrumental performance (Doderer, 1988). On the other hand, there were moments in the worship when musical formulae established by liturgical norms were not long enough to accompany the unfolding ceremony, like the movement of the clergy from sacristy to altar at the beginning of the Mass, which could go on for much longer than the duration of the Introit, or like the moments of the raising of the Host and the distribution of Communion for which the Gregorian Offertory and Communion were not long enough, and on these occasions it became the habit to insert purely instrumental pieces. In a Mass celebrated a few days before Christmas 1576 in the presence of the King D. Sebastião we know that «in the beginning shawms were played, in the Offertory cornettos, and on the raising of the Host flutes and viols, and they were well-played» (Vieira, 1900: I, 6). It is very probable that it was precisely for these occasions that the various series of *Concertados* composed in the decades of 1630 and 1640 that were left by some composers

of Santa Cruz like Dom Teotónio da Cruz (+ 1653), Dom António da Madre de Deus (+ 1656), Dom João de Santa Maria (+ 1654) and Dom Gabriel de São João (+ 1651). These works, over one hundred in total, are imitative elaborations of a chant *cantus firmus* in long regular note-values, varying between the sum of two and six parts, and seem to belong to the practice of a contrapuntal repertory for instrumental ensembles belonging at least to the mid XVI century despite, as we will see, having some elements of stylistic change pointing to the posterior birth of the Portuguese musical Baroque (Nery, 1985). It is however in the field of the organ that we find the essential production of our Mannerist Music. Like their Spanish equivalents, Portuguese organs are characterised by a single keyboard and the absence of pedals, but contain like them an original feature, the division of the keyboard and the windchest in two distinct halves so as to allow the keys above middle C sharp to activate a different group of stops to those connected to the keys below middle C. In this way a marked difference of timbre between the two halves of the keyboard was possible, permitting, given adequate registration, to emphasise one or more solo melodic lines in polyphonic writing as long as they were exclusively above or below middle C. From the first decades of the XVII century envolves another characteristic feature of the Iberian organ tradition which consists in the adoption of reed registers of strident and nasal sonority placed «en chamade», that is to say mounted horizontally along the façade of the instrument.

The first Master of our Mannerist literature for organ is António Carreira, whose works are preserved in the already mentioned M.M. 242 of the General Library of Coimbra University. To identify this composer is a problem in that whilst very probably we are dealing with António Carreira (+ ca. 1589) who served in the Royal Chapél sucessively as, Master of the Choir-Boys and finally Chapel-Master, and from whom survive vocal works in manuscripts coming from Santa Cruz de Coimbra, it is not out of the question that it may have been his son Fr. António Carreira (+ 1599) whose vocal compositions are contained in a codex hailing from the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora (Nery, inedited). In either case, the author of these works made a profound impression on the evolution of the formal structure of the Tento (or Fantasia, seen that the two terms appear synonymous in the musical terminology of the age) in the Iberian keyboard repertory, being interested especially in monothematic development in contrast to the multi-theme approach dom-

inant in the work of his Spanish contemporary António de Cabezón. This preference comes close to a Jacques Buus or a Rocco Rodio, opening the way for the great monothematic compositions of Rodrigues Coelho and Correa de Arauxo and in the final analysis, to the fugue itself. With respect to contrapuntal writing Carreira seems to prefer a regular imitative treatment of all the voices, already abandoning the opposition between pairs of voices which constitutes a Franco-Flemish heritage still present in Cabezón. Finally, his works reveal a marked taste for chromaticism which sometimes transcends the limits of the purely modal framework by the dissonance, the clash of seconds and sevenths, and in general all the expressive effects allowing him to create a charged emotional atmosphere of which a model is his Tento in five parts on the Spanish song *Con qué la lavaré la flor de la mi cara*, an indisputible masterpiece of all European instrumental Mannerism (Kastner, 1965: XXIV-XXXI).

The evolution of our keyboard music continues with the *Flores de Música para o Instrumento de Tecla e Harpa* (Lisbon, 1620), the first printed volume of Portuguese instrumental music which has reached our time. It's author is Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, who worked as organist in the Cathedrals of Badajoz (1573-1577), Elvas (until 1602) and Lisbon (1602-1603) and finally in the Royal Chapel (1604-1633). While in Carreira we still find works of some secular leanings (nominally in the themes of songs), the *Flores de Música* only contain sacred compositions, like tentos, verses of the *Magnificat* and organ versets of the Kyrie as well as four improvisations on a song of a moralising nature by Lassus, *Suzanne un jour*.

The style of Coelho reveals clear similarities to that of a Sweelinck or a Byrd, especially in that it contains of the virtuoso: rapid and irregular rhythmic patterns (dotted figures, triplets, sextuplets, etc.), melodic-rhythmic sequences repeated several times and even occasions when a soloistic melody appears in the right hand which the left limits itself to accompanying harmonically. The influence of the Anglo-Dutch school is also felt in the internal structure of the works. Whether this is mono or polythematic, each theme crosses the work like a guideline around which gravitate numerous counterthemes. The pieces are usually in three or four contrasting sections (sometimes two contrapuntal sections are separated by an episode of varied length with a true Toccata character, on other occasions the sections are distinguished from each other by a metric alternation which remind us of the contrast between the Pavane and Galliard of the English virginalists). In relation to the tradition which he

inherited from Carreira, Rodrigues Coelho is an innovator on the level of an indubitably instrumental language distanced from vocal polyphonic models by constant virtuoso passages conceived in idiomatic form for the keyboard, but his works avoid the extremes of dissonance and chromatism of his predecessor. Thus we can consider him a representative of the playful and ostensibly technical movement that we have identified above within Portuguese musical Mannerism while Carreira can be seen as an exponant of the expressionist current of the same movement (Kastner, 1979: 71-116).

The period after Manuel Rodrigues Coelho left us various significant manuscripts for keyboard music, in their majority compiled in the region of Braga, where there seems to have been an organ school flourishing throughout the XVII century. The first of these manuscripts is a vast collection of over a hundred works of imitative character named as *Fugues, Tentos, Concertantes, Concertos* or *Lessons*, many of them constructed on chant melodies and oscillating between small pieces of six to seven bars and lengthy compositions which reach one hundred and fifty bars. The leading composer is Gaspar dos Reis, Master of Braga Cathedral in the second third of the XVII century, and the collection has the particular interest of showing us the evolution of contrapuntal forms and of the organ's liturgical repertory in this period (Fernandes, 1977).

Even more revealing are three manuscripts compiled already at the end of the XVII century but in which are found works by Iberian authors from Coelho, himself, to Sebastián Durón, Master of the Spanish Royal Chapel from 1691. Of these, the Ms. 1577 of the Municipal Library of Oporto has only works by Spanish composers and has the interesting feature of containing an *Art of reading music* and a *Method of placing the hands on the organ* which explain the system of Iberian keyboard tablature and the basis of the technique of fingering used in this period (Kastner, 1947: 27-34); the Ms. 1607 from the same Library has the title *Book of organ works joined by the curiosity of P. P. Fr. Roque da Cõceição. Anno de 1695* and reveals compositions by the Portuguese masters Pedro de Araújo, Fr. Diogo da Conceição, António Correia Braga, José Leite da Costa, Fr. Carlos de S. José and Dom Agostinho da Cruz (Speer, 1967); lastly, the Ms. 964 of the District Archive of Braga, contains a large number of anonymous works of the Iberian school, identifying in the midst of these only some by Pedro de Araújo, Fr. Luís Coutinho and the Spaniard Fr. Pedro de San Lorenzo but equally has the feature of presenting various Italian pieces from

the second half of the XVII century amongst which the *Partite sopra l'Aria della Folia* by Bernardo Pasquini (Doderer, 1974). In the enormous repertory preserved in these sources we find two new forms which try to exploit the special characteristics of the Iberian organ previously described. The first of these forms is called the *Tento de Meio Registro* (Tento of Half-Stop), in which the constrast of registration obtained by means of the split keyboard is used to emphasise one or more melodic lines in the heart of the work's polyphonic texture, thus exploring a wide variety of effects of accompanied monody and concerted contrasts. The second form is the *Batalha* (Battle-piece) whose origin goes back to one of the most famous polyphonic songs from the Franco-Flemish school of the Renaissance, *La Bataille de Marignan* or *La Guerre* by Clément Jannequin, in which the author tries to imitate the characteristic sounds of combat in musical terms (the rattle of drums, the galloping of horses, the clash of swords and the booming of the guns) interchanging them with passages of traditional counterpoint. The Portuguese and Spanish Mannerist composers tried to use the same type of effects in works of sacred Music alluding to the mystical combat between Good and Evil, and exploited for this in particularily eficacious ways the strident and brilliant horizontal trumpets of their organs.

In all these forms, as in the traditional Tento, our most outstanding composer is without doubt Pedro de Araújo, of whom we only know that between 1662 and 1668 he was Chapel Master and professor of Music of the Seminario Conciliar of Braga. The games of almost concerto-like contrasts of his *Meios Registros*, the pictorial wealth of his *Batalhas*, the virtuosity demanded by the rhythmic patterns of his Tentos and the loose structure of all his works, in which cascades of fragmentary motives and contrasting sections follow each other in an essentially emotional logic, take Araújo to the extreme limits of Mannerism.

In contrast with the richness of the surviving organ repertory, we find a relative vaccuum with respect to Music for other instruments. Fundamental sources have been lost, like a manuscript treatise by the Master of the Chapel of the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora, Dom Agostinho da Cruz, *Lyra de Arco* or *Arte de Rebequinha* (The Bowed Lyre or Art of the treble violin), which, had it survived, would today be one of the earliest violin methods ever written, and an *Arte da viola de arco* (Art of the bowed viol) by António Jacques de Laserna dedicated to D. João IV (Nery, 1984:

82, 148). With respect to plucked instruments a single example has reached us, the *Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra* (New method of tablature for the guitar) (Naples, 1640) by the Portuguese Nicolau Doizi de Velasco, chamber-musician of Philip IV of Spain. Paradoxically, this work of clear importance, which is one of the first Iberian sources to discuss in detail the problem of bass-continuo realization, has not yet been the object of musicological study.

2.4 — From the Last Song-books to the Sacred Villancico

If the tendency of Portuguese musical Mannerism is in the direction of a growing predominance of the sacred repertory over the secular, during the second half of the XVI century the stylistic transformation from Renaissance to Mannerism is still felt in the context of the secular tradition, clearly shown in a significant part of the works preserved in the Song-book of Paris and especially in those forming part of the Belem Song-book. It is revealing that it is precisely in the manuscript of the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts that appear the first musical versions of the prince of our Mannerist poets, Luis de Camões: the songs *Na fonte está Lianor* and *Foi-se gastando a esperança* and the vilancete *Menina dos olhos verdes*.

The musical components of this progressive imposition of Mannerist taste in the orbit of secular vocal music are varied. In the first place there is a tendency for a decreasing number of works in three voices, including the habit of adding a fourth voice to works originally for three (Morais, 1986, p. XX). On the other hand both in new compositions and «modernized» versions of pre-existing pieces, the contrapuntal writing tends to evolve from the more archaic cadential formulae, like the so-called Landini and Burgundian (with an octave leap of the lowest voice leading to the crossing with the voice immediately above) cadences tending to disappear. Examples of new harmonic cadential forms already appear, of a post-modal nature without the of 4-3 or 7-6 suspensions typical of the contrapuntal *clausula vera* of the Renaissance. In the realm of polyphonic texture the recourse to imitation in quasi-canonic moulds is reinforced but at the same time the more frequently used passages in paralell thirds and sixths set in an increasingly triadic harmonic language.

Here as well the main concern of the musical writing is to reinforce the meaning of the text, and this is the more clear when

the chosen poems tend to be of a strongly emotional nature, exploring extreme feelings like pain, yearning and despair. On this level one of the most representative examples is a most beautiful vilancete from the Cancioneiro de Belem, *Tierras mías adó nasci*, in which yearning for the country of birth is transmitted by a musical atmosphere of profound melancoly obtained by systematic use of dissonance or of the sonorities of minor thirds and sixths which, along the lines recommended by the Italian theorist Gioseffo Zarlino, already suggest an expressive opposition between the concepts of «Major» and «Minor» strange to the pure modal universe of the Renaissance. For its part, in the Camões song *Na fonte está Lianor*, from the Paris Song-book, the word *chorando* (weeping) is underlined by a chromatic effect which shows some similarity to the processes of expressive treatment of text of the italian madrigal, and it is possible to locate similar «madrigalisms» in other works of the same period.

The influence of Italian musical Mannerism does not end here in that on a level with the vilancete, the cantiga and the traditional romance, now appear new poetic musical forms, the sonnet (for example *O más dura que mármor a mis quejas*, from the Belem Song-book, on a poem by Garcilaso de la Vega, and the celebrated *Sete anos de pastor Jacob servia*, by Camões, of which there is a musical version is a manuscript of *Romances y Letras* from the National Library of Madrid) and the madrigal itself (for example, again in the Belem manuscript, *O dulce suspiro mio* on a text that at least the first part is by Gregório Silvestre a Portuguese poet and musician based in Spain to whom we have already referred in dealing with XVI century instrumental music).

The cycle of Portuguese secular Song-books appears to close with the manuscript of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnology. In Spain the evolution of secular song proceeds in the XVII century in the tradition of the so-called *Tono Humano*, preserved in numerous manuscripts, and it is curious to note that within it stand out various Portuguese musicians active in that country. Among these are prominent Manuel Machado (+ 1646), disciple of Duarte Lobo and court musician of Philip III of Spain, whose works appear in some of the principal sources of this genre, like the song-books of Claudio de la Sablonara and of the Casatenense Library of Rome and the *Libro de Tonos Humanos* of the Madrid National Library (Querol, 1975), and Fr. Manuel Correia (+ 1655) pupil of Filipe de Magalhães and Fr. Manuel Cardoso and later Chapel Master of the

Carmo Convent in Madrid and later of Zaragossa Cathedral, who also has some secular compositions in the *Libro de Tonos Humanos* (Querol, 1970). In Portugal, on the contrary, everything suggests an upheaval of more than half a century in the composition of secular songs and it is in the second half of the XVII century, in the full reign of D. Afonso VI, that we find the first references to a rekindling of interest for the genre in the Country, when the edition of *Obras Métricas* (Lisbon, 1665) by D. Francisco Manuel de Melo supply us with the text of twenty-six Tonos humanos by this poet with the indication of having been set to music by the Portuguese composers Fr. Filipe da Madre de Deus, Fr. Luis de Cristo, Gaspar dos Reis, António Marques Lésbio, João Lourenço Rebelo, Estêvão de Faria, Marcos Soares Pereira, Filipe da Cruz, Fr. António de Jesus and by the Spanish Miguel Herrera (Vasconcelos, 1870: I, 256-257).

Of extreme curiosity is that, far from completely disappearing, the tradition of the villancico, the song and the romance now survives in a new context, beginning little by little from the last third of the XVI century as it wanes in the secular sphere to be admitted in the Church itself, with the surprising feature of not being extra liturgical, as frequently occurred in the Middle Ages with other cultural phoenomena of profane origin absorbed by worship, but to penetrate the heart of the Mass and the Office. Neither this penetration nor its reasons have yet been properly studied, but everything suggests that the Portuguese and Spanish ecclesiastical authorities tried to encourage popular participation in liturgical ceremonies resorting simultaneously to the traditional Catholic tactic of heightening the spectacular side of the ritual and the Protestant strategy of using vernacular texts which helped the identification of the faithful with worship. The efficacy of this joint reasoning of spiritual marketing is well confirmed in the text of a Neapolitan theorist who, putting the case of the Church's most purist and conservative sector, wrote in 1613:

> [...] there are people so lacking in devotion that, (so to speak) they do not go to church once a year; and who many times miss the Mass on feast-days from idleness, for they stayed in their beds, but if there are villancicos, there are nowhere more devout or diligent persons. There is no Church, Oratory or Chapel they do not attend nor does it cost them to get up at midnight, cold as it might be, just to hear them. [Cerone, 1613: 197.]

One of the first detailed descriptions of the use of these vernacular works, generally called *villancicos* or *chançonetas*, in the liturgy, refers to the already mentioned encounter between King D. Sebastião of Portugal and King Philip II of Spain, at the Monastery of Guadalupe in Christmas 1576:

> This night [of Christmas] their Highnesses went to Matins which began at 8 o'clock; at Matins there were *chançonetas* (songs) between each lesson and at the end of each nocturn there was a comedy or farce, each different, in which entered eunochs, some dressed as shepherds, and this was after every nocturn, and after the nocturns came a boy with a guitar and sang many verses in honour of the Kings who came to adore, saying that the Magii were three in number, but that these two were greater in quality and wealth and that Our Lady had brought them together to her house to debate there matters of her service. Mass was sung in polyphony with many songs and the Kings stayed until all hours with great joy and pleasure and mirth. [Vieira, 1900: I, 6-7.]

In February of 1603, at the festival of the arrival of the relics of São Teotónio in the Viseu Cathedral, it is the celebrant himself who leads the performance of the villancicos:

> But what amazed all was to see the said Padre Dom Francisco [da Esperança] after he came down from the pulpit help the musicians in singing a chançoneta at the raising the Host in the Mass with such dexterity, air and grace, ornamentation, and with so silvery a voice that all cried with one voice: long live the father Orpheus of Santa Cruz. [Pinho, 1982; 212-213.]

First inserted in the Christmas festival, later put back for Our Lady of the Conception (8th December) and forward for Epiphany (6th January) and eventually to the feasts of the Corpus Christi, to the principal Marian commemorations and to the feasts of the saints of greatest devotion of each Cathedral or Monastery of greatest prestige, the villancicos rapidly became an indispensable feature of the more splendid liturgical celebrations. The only exception being those, like Holy Week, of which their penitential nature excluded any such jovial manifestations.

A particularly interesting aspect of the genre is the way in which the thematic characteristics of their profane originals reappear at any moment on the remotest spiritual pretext. In a villancico for Corpus Christi the Eucarist, whilst being spiritual food, can be presented as a Pantagruelian banquet with all the niceties of gluttony *(Vivid and tasty food, the pure flesh of the sacred lamb, true God, precious fruit but sweet as honey and more tasteful)*, but can also be seen as a duel in which Christ fights the enemies of the soul, narrated in metaphors using all the jargon of fencing *(offers, presents, arms, shows the physique and hides the face and with courage and dextery only does not defend the body, in giving which consists his play of arms)*; and in a Christmas song the text can describe with some daring the amourous play of shepherds and sheperdesses as long as it happens on the way to Bethlehem, where the lovers are going to adore the God Child. In this respect it should be added that the participation of popular figures is almost a rule in the narrative, and that while Castilian is the predominant idiom we find a significant proportion of texts in the various Iberian languages and dialects (especially Portuguese and Galician), as well as a Castilian adulterated to the taste of the specific linguistic practice of the various ethnic and social groupings of the Peninsula and its two empires (Asturian, Basque, Sayaguese, Gypsy, Moorish and especially «Negro» or «Guineo»).

In the first phase the musical component of the religious villancico was not much altered in relation to what it inherited from its secular tradition, and we can confirm this in two works of the genre in the Belem Song-book.

In the course of the XVII century the traditional ABBA structure that had characterised the villancico tended to expand, the *refrain* being subdivided between a solo *introduction* and a choral *response* and giving on the *change* place to soloistic stanzas which alternate with this same refrain, presented entirely or only in its choral part. This formal evolution may be represented by the following scheme:

REFRAIN		CHANGE STANZA	RETURN
INTRODUCTION	RESPONSE		
A^1 (1-4 soloists)	A^2 (chorus)	n × B (1-4 soloists)	A^2 or $A^1 + A^2$

On the contrary to works of Latin polyphony, which could stay in the repertory for decades, the villancico generally had a fleeting existence. As a rule, a short time before the feast to be celebrated the Chapter of every Cathedral ordered the Chapel Master to compose the series of villancicos necessary for the celebration, freeing him for a time from some of his normal duties so as to give him time, or commissioned this work from one or more outside composers, but always made a point of having a new repertory for the next festival, thus these works tended to be preserved in single copies which ended up being accumulated in the Cathedral's archives, with the exception of those which could eventually be copied for the use of passionate collectors like D. João IV, who as early as 1649 had 2351 pieces of the genre in his Library. For this reason a large part of the repertory disappeared, remaining only the libretti, which were sometimes printed to be able to be followed by the public, as in the case of the villancicos which from 1640 were annually sung in the Portuguese Royal Chapel on the occasions of the feasts of the Conception, of Christmas and the Three Kings. In the General Library of Coimbra University and the Public Library of Évora however are preserved numerous collections of works of this type (Alegria, 1977: 82-105) and Robert Stevenson located in Latin-American archives various similar compositions by Portuguese authors (Stevenson, 1976).

There are too many authors represented for us to be able to comment on each one, but among them stand out the names of Fr. Manuel Correia (+ 1653), Chapel Master of Zaragossa Cathedral, where on his death the diocesan authorities tried to secure exclusive performing rights for his works surrounding the respective manuscripts with special security measures, and of Fr. Francisco de Santiago (+ 1644), Chapel Master of Seville Cathedral since 1617, of whom D. João IV had more than six hundred villancicos in his library, and finally of António Marques Lésbio (1639-1709), Master of the Royal Chapel since 1668, whose vilancico *Ayrecillos mansos* is certainly one of the masterpieces of the genre in the whole peninsular context (id.: 49-54). Equally the name of Gaspar Fernandes (+ 1629) should be mentioned, Chapel Master of the Cathedrals of Guatemala (1602-1606) and of Puebla (1606-1629), who left a vast autographed collection of villancicos today preserved in the archive of the Mexican Cathedral of Oaxaca amongst which numerous *negros* and even some pieces written in the language of the Aztec empire, *nahuatl*.

CHAPTER III

THE BAROQUE PERIOD

3.1 — The Indigenous Baroque of the XVIII Century

FROM MANNERISM TO THE EARLY BAROQUE

Mannerism lasted in Portuguese Music long after its last manifestations in Italy had definitively given way to the Baroque in the decades of 1630 and 1640. If we consider our musical production of the second half of the XVII century in generic terms we see that in effect the forms it employed are fundamentally still those inherited from the previous century — the Mass, the Motet and the villancico in sacred Music, the Tento and the Fantasia in instrumental Music — and that are completely absent some of the fundamental genres of the XVII century Italian Baroque like the Opera, the Cantata and the Oratorio on the vocal plane, or the Sonata and the Concerto on the instrumental. On the other hand we find an evident persistence of imitative polyphony, in the majority of cases conceived for a texture of four to six voices. In the area of music theory there is a picture of undeniable stagnation, in which the norms of XVI century counterpoint and the system of the eight Gregorian modes, just as expounded in 1613 by Cerone, are transmitted almost unchanged from treatise to treatise independent of the indisputable academic worth of some of these manuals like the case of the *Arte Mínima* by Manuel Nunes da Silva, which edited in 1685, came to be twice reprinted well into the XVIII century (1704, 1725). In the last place, the idea of form continued to be entirely subordinated to a simple logic of permanent contrast and the sequence of the expressive effects of musical language, in general more determined by reasons of a textual nature than by considerations of a purely musical order.

However if we exclude the sctrict field of our musical treatises, which in any case in their majority are on so elementary a didactic

level that they excluded great flights of original speculation, we find three indisputable realities: the first is that throughout the XVII century — and in particular it's second half — Portuguese Music is in a constant process of evolution, existing, behind all appearances of stagnation, multiple signs of change which establish clear contrasts between the successive generations of Portuguese composers; the second is that are strong indications that the formal and stylistic innovations of the Italians were becoming known in our country; the third is that this knowledge significantly effected our Music's evolution, even if at times this is not obvious and it is more possible to show a joint-intent of basic principles of composition than identify similar formal solutions.

The evolutionary aspect of Portuguese late XVII century music that has least been discussed is the increasingly heterodox use of the traditional modal system in open contrast with the unchangeable formulation with which it is dealt with in scholastic manuals. This heterodoxy begins to show itself in the use of the new modes of A and C introduced in the mid XVI century by Glareano and never explicity recognised by our theoretical writers, but from the mid-century onwards becomes increasingly evident when the works of our polyphonists show that they were each time more composed on the basis of dualiy Bass-Soprano and not of the predominant traditional relation Tenor-Soprano. The principal consequence of this fact is the gradual imposition of a logic of construction tending to the «vertical» in which the composition ceases to result from the simple successive superimposing of various melodic lines to be thought of in terms of a harmonic progression to which the inner voices are subject. There is still imitative counterpoint, as is obvious, and in this situation the themes circulate from voice to voice with varying strictness but it is clear that in the writing the ideas of *chord*, of *inversion* and of *harmonic resolution* have each time more importance.

Among the first works in which this phenomenon appears include the unpublished motets of João Tavares de Andrade (1645), one of the successors of Lopes Morago as Chapel Master of Viseu Cathedral in which, for example, the relationship of resolution between chords of the dominant seventh and the tonic, are clearly evident under the contrapuntal surface. But it is even more specific in the polychoral Psalms of João Lourenço Rebelo where the antiphonal opposition between the various choruses obliges a clearer chordal writing. The intense chromaticism of the works of Francisco

Martins (+ 1680), Chapel Master of the Évora Cathedral, has no possible explanation in the framework of modal counterpoint and comes closer to the expressive Harmony of a Froberger, for example, than the XVI century polyphonic tradition. The same can be said for the constant use of augmented and diminished intervals in the compositions of Diogo Dias Melgás (1638-1700), Chapel Master of Évora Cathedral, that often can only be understood in terms of the laws of attraction of an embryonic functional harmony and of the principles of harmonic resolution and the leading of voices that they imply. We can thus speak of a clear transition towards modern tonality, as happens, at the same time in Italian Baroque music.

The very texture of the polyphonic works incorporate each time more Baroque elements. The instances of accompanied monody multiply in the form of a solo voice supported by an instrumental bass-continuo line, as happens frequently in the villancicos, whether only implicitly in the isolated use of one of the higher voices of a polyphonic piece supported by a vocal Bass line which moves with constant leaps of fourths and fifths so as to guarantee the necessary harmonic support for the upper voice. The same happens with the relation of two high voices of the same tessitura and a low melodic line of harmonic support that we find constantly at least from the time of the instrumental concertados of Santa Cruz de Coimbra in the decades of 1630 and 1640 and which correspond to the typical texture of the trio-sonata, so beloved of Italian Baroque composers from middle of the *Seicento*. Reference should also be made to the growing tendency we find of composition for large numbers of voices, that come closer to the monumentalism of the so-called «Colossal Baroque» of the Roman School, in the style of a Benevoli or a Carissimi, than to the polychoralism resulting from simple multiplication of polyphonic means as in the Venetian Mannerist tradition of the beginning of the century.

If the *concertados* of Coimbra contain in their contradictory stylistic nature, simultaneously linked to tradition and to change, are that to which we most closely find similarities in the evolution of the Sonata and similar chamber-music forms in Italy, with respect to the concerto we have no reference to the existence of an instrumental repertory of the same type in our country. However, in the context of the formal evolution of the religious villancico in Portugal we have not only innumerable examples of dialogue and concerted contrast between solo and *tutti*, as when we arrive at the last third of the century the basic structure of the villancico

itself tends to evolve in the sense of multiplying the number of soloistic stanzas, each one of which with its own Music and always alternating with a fixed choral refrain. Thus we find a formal pattern presenting significant resemblances to the principle of the *ritornello* of the Italian instrumental concerto literature.

Opera does not exist in Portugal in the XVII century, nor existed until the first Italian serenades sung in the Portuguese court in the decade of 1720. With the death of D. João IV in 1656 is reborn an interest at the Portuguese court for a tradition of musico-theatrical entertainment going back to at least Gil Vicente and to the Neo-Latin theatre of the Jesuits but which since the marriage of that monarch with D. Luisa de Guzmán had been banished from his court. The arrival of D. Luisa in Vila Viçosa had been the pretext for grandiose festivities including the representation of «a public Comedy in a striking theatre which was made for this purpose near the windows of the Palace» (Nery, 1990: 186), but the new Duchess rapidly took measures to banish a type of spectacle which she considered immoral and above all, according to the biographers of D. João, which lent itself to intimacies between some of the actresses involved and the Duke and his brothers. Was it or not the reason for the prohibition, we can independently access to what point the same applied to the whole country on the enthronement of the Duke of Bragança, and what is for certain is that excepting some villancico texts suggesting dramatic action which in some cases may have been staged, references to musico-theatrical representation during the reign of the Restorer are almost non-existent, if we exclude two *Diálogos* precisely celebrating the Restoration and a *Loa Cantada* presented as *Tono A 7, de Comédia*, dated 1650, these three examples of musical manuscript hailing from Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Pinho, 1982: 237-242). From the reign of D. Afonso VI, on the contrary, the titles of various comedies represented in court reach us and we can allow that the majority had a significant musical component. As is obvious we are not dealing here with manifestations of an operatic nature, seen that these works were not for sure examples of *dramma per musica*, sung from point to point in recitative style, but this retaking of the Portuguese lyrico-theatrical tradition cannot fail to reveal a renewed sensibility with respect to the dramatic interaction between text, scenic action and Music, which in the last analysis is one of the pillars of the Baroque.

Our late XVII century sources containing examples of Italian baroque music or Italian taste are not many. Of those in existence

the most revealing is without a doubt the MS. 964 of the Braga District Archive, fundamental repository, as we have seen, of our organ school of the end of the century, in which are preserved numerous works from Italy, on a level with the productions of Iberian masters. Amongst these are the song *Pepe, vieni a trovare*, a *Passacaglia*, a *Balleto A Colascione* and various *Villanelle*, works by the Italian composer Frascati like a *Ballo del Ciclope*, an *Aria della Ninfa* and a *Minuetto della Porta*, and most especially the celebrated *Folíe sopra l'Aria della Folia* by Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), the most outstanding figure of Italian keyboard music of his time (Doderer, 1978: 28-29). But more important than the presence of Italian Baroque repertory is the fact that all the stylistic characteristics we have listened of necessity witness either some knowlege of transalpine musical practice — even if in certain cases inexplicibly — or a self-created stylistic evolution coming from the previous mannerist experience which shares some of the fundamental options equally present in the Italian musical Baroque. We can thus allow the existence of an early Portuguese Baroque — or perhaps Iberian — whose first manifestations, still limited, can already be detected from the decade of 1630, combining in a first phase, with innumerable essential characteristics still inherited from Mannerism but gradually assuming, from the mid-century, a predominant role to the point of disinheriting its original context, the traditional Mannerist elements or simply replacing them.

THE END OF A TRADITION

The period between the decades of 1690 and 1720 and which is one of those in which until today our History of Music has been least studied, corresponds in stylistic terms to a kind of no-mans-land between the manifestations of a XVII century Baroque of Iberian roots and the massive penetration of Italian models from the second decade of the XVIII century. In the way that this penetration occurred especially through the Royal Chapel, as we have seen, it took by surprise the majority of Portuguese musicians trained in the other institutions, even those which had stood out as great centers of musical activity like for example the Cathedrals of Lisbon and Évora. Thus arises in this period whether in the general picture of Portuguese musical production or in the heart of the work of

each composer, a fundamental stylistic indefinition in which co-exist the most varied approaches from as absolute fidelity to traditional Peninsular models to a total acceptance of the new imported values, including in-numerable hybrid forms in which both tendencies combine in a grey and difficult to define area. The Paulist Fr. Manuel dos Santos (+ 1737), disciple of António Marques Lésbio and composer of the Royal Chapel, for which he composed the *Te Deum* for three choruses with which in 1708 that institution received Queen D. Mariana of Austria on her arrival in Portugal, was distinguished, by way of example, for his Passions of St. Matthew and St. John, which according to a contemporary source were sung annually «with the general consolation and applause of the hearers», and which are written in a 4-voice contrapuntal idiom, austere and conservative where only the tonal force of the harmonic element shows that we are not dealing with works composed a century before (Nery, 1980: 62; 1984: 213-214). And Manuel Soares, *Presbítero do Hábito de São Pedro* and composer associated with the Lisbon Cathedral, not only left us various examples of the works of Manuel Mendes, Victória and Palestrina to which he added supplementary voices and verses in a style clearly derived from these authors with various original compositions for 4 voices *a capella* of modal nature written still in mensural notation and sometimes on a chant *cantus firmus* (Joaquim, 1953: 127-145). Barbosa Machado tells us that these pieces «earned the applause and admiration of the great Masters of the same harmonic Faculty that D. João V brought to this court from Italy affirming that in all Italy — always an illustrious arena of music — there was no man who could better rival with our Soares» (Nery, 1984: 225). In other cases the same composer wrote in both styles, ancient and modern, rather as Monteverdi in the previous century had till the end of his life cultivated the *prima* and the *seconda prattica*. Fr. Antão de Santo Elias (+ 1748), for example, left a book of hymns «of four voices a capella», but was also author of various series of responses for «double-chorus with fiddles, bass fiddles and flutes» (Nery, 1984: 213). And Fr. João de São Félix, who was ordained in 1697 in the Trinitarian Convent of Lisbon was the author of Lamentations and Lessons «in polyphony» but is mentioned by a biographer as having «composed some cantatas in modern style with instruments in great harmony» (Nery, 1980: 63).

A decisive element in this process of transformation, already in the 1720's, was the gradual introduction of string instruments in liturgical music, once again the example of the practice is the

Royal Chapel. Specifically in the Évora Cathedral in 1723 was contracted the first «fiddler» and in 1724-1725 the Cathedral Chapel counted on 2 violins, viola and 2 cellos as well as 2 harpists who accompanied a vocal group of choir-boys (perhaps 4), 3 countertenors, 2 tenors and 2 basses (Stevenson, 1976: XXXV). From now on we will increasingly find in the lists of works and the titles of surviving compositions of our composers of this period the explict mention of new instrumental combinations even when the accompanied vocal writing has traditional characteristics. This is the case of the works of João da Silva Morais, who in 1727 took charge of the post of Chapel Master of Lisbon Cathedral, among which even a piece so archaic a nature as a *Te Deum laudamus* in 4 voices of the sixth tone appears the reference «with fiddles» (Nery, 1984: 179), or also in a poly-choral Mass by D. Francisco José Coutinho noteworthy in the list of works of its author for the indication «with trumpets, drums and fiddles» (id.: 78).

From the formal point of vew it is once again in the religious villancico which transmits the clearest sense of a progressive affirmation of Italian baroque forms in the picture of the indigenous baroque tradition. In effect at the end of the century the structure Refrain-Change-Return which with greater or lesser transformations continued to characterize the XVII century villancico gave way to a free pattern in which succeeded, in alternating sections, «solos, duos, quartets and octets» (Nery, 1980: 39-40) with the term recitado already distinguishing passages in recitative style in the arias, ensembles and choruses. Of almost all these late villancicos only the libretti have survived, in that their Music, very possibly copied in collections of part-books written on small pieces of paper did not survive the fall from favour of this genre, but in the libretti of the first two decades of the XVIII century we find references not only to some librettists, like Luis Calixto da Costa e Faria and the Cónego Julião Maciel, but also to various composers like D. Francisco José Coutinho, Francisco Costa e Silva, Estêvão Ribeiro Francês, André da Costa, Fr. Antão de Santo Elias, Fr. Manuel dos Santos, Inácio António Celestino, João da Silva Morais as well as the Sicilian Barão da Astorga and the Catalan D. Jayme de la Té y Sagáu.

The lack of sources with respect to the last phase of the evolution of the sacred villancico is partly compensated by the survival of ninety *Cantatas humanas* from among a total of 253 secular and sacred cantatas which this last author, established in Lisbon around 1708 and dying there in 1736, had printed in his own press known

as *oficina de Música* (the Music work-shop). Written for one or two solo voices accompanied by Basso Continuo and allowably similar to their sacred equals (the libretti are by the same poets who wrote the texts for Church villancicos like the already mentioned Faria and Maciel and even Té y Sagáu), these Cantatas Humanas already share many characteristics of the italian cantata, from the opposition of recitative-aria to the markings of the tempi (*Largo assai — Largo — Grave — Andante — Affectuoso — Allegro — Vivace)*, but show a fluent adaptation of the technique of recitative to Castilian prose and above all the appearance of traditional Iberian rhythms, especially triple time sections full of *hemiolas*, in many of the arias (Doderer, 1989).

Some of the poets and composers associated with the final phase of the villancico's evolution in the first two decades of the new century are equally connected to the flourishing of musical theatre with Spanish texts found in the Lisbon of the period. Already in 1704 the anonymous zarzuela *Hazer cuenta sin ya huésped* was put on in Vila Viçosa in the presence of D. Pedro II (Brito, 1989b: 72) and in 1708 the boys of the Royal Chapel greeted Queen D. Mariana of Austria in the Royal Palace with a performance of the comedy *Eligir el enemigo* by the young Trinitarian composer Fr. Pedro da Conceição, composed «for a tutti four choruses and the rest of the music for solos, duos and quartets, all of good inspiration and with the great applause of everyone» (Nery, 1980: 40).

In 1711, on the birthday of D. João V, the *Fábula de Acis y Galatea* was put on at court, the text by Julião Maciel and the Music by an anonymous composer, organised in «arias, recitatives, stanzas for two and four parts» (Brito, 1989b: 72). The following year on the occasion of the sovereign's onomastic feast, the Queen D. Mariana de Austria promoted the representation of a «harmonious festival with all sorts of musical instruments» entitled *Fábula de Alfeo y Aretusa*, with text by Luis Calixto da Costa e Faria and Music by Té y Sagáu. In 1713 once again on the King's birthday, the Infanta D. Francisca and six of her ladies in waiting presented themselves another text by Costa e Faria, the «comedy» or «zarzuela festiva» entitled *El poder de la harmonia* (Nery, 1980: 79-80).

This series of Castilian musical theatre continued with the presentation, in the palace of the Marquis of Valencia, of various zarzuelas by José de Canizares with music by Sebastián Duron and António Litteres, whose scores are still preserved in the Évora Public Library. The Spanish Embassy in Lisbon also promoted various similar spec-

tacles, especially in 1728 on the arrival in the country of the ambassador extraordinary of the King of Spain, the Marquis de los Balbazes, who came to negotiate the double-wedding which became known as the «exchange of Infantes»: the wedding of the Portuguese Crown Prince D. José with the Spanish princess D. Mariana Vitória and of our Infanta D. Maria Bárbara with the prince of the Asturias. Among the representations promoted by the ambassador was the zarzuela *Amor aumenta el amor*, with music by José de Nebra, Felipe Falconi and Jayme Facco, whose production costs were uncommon (Brito, 1982b: 73-74).

From the 1730's however the taste of the court and the general public became orientated towards the new Italian opera which meanwhile arrived in Portugal, and the music theatre of Iberian tradition, on the contrary to similar forms, the *Singspiel* in Germany, the *Vaudeville* in France or the *Ballad Opera* in England, disappeared from the scene, the *Discurso apologético em defesa do teatro espanhol* (Apology in defense of Spanish Theatre) (1739) by the Marquis of Valencia, as writes Manuel Carlos de Brito, constituting the «death-knell of the genre in Portugal» (id.: 75), but also the end of an evolution of a musical Baroque of unequivocable Peninsular roots.

3.2 — The Baroque in the Reign of D. João V

ABSOLUTISM AND ECCLESIASTICAL CULTURE

The enthronement of D. João V in 1707 marked the beginning of a profound process of change in Portuguese society and culture which more than anything involved the affirmation of royal Absolutism and is for this very reason directly moulded by the lucid, energetic, intervening, authoritarian, idiosyncratic and in the last analysis contradictory personality of the monarch himself. Having achieved a definitive peace with Spain, the political action of the sovereign was fundamentally oriented to ending the relative isolation in which Portugal fell since the Restoration and to the modernisation of the economy in agreement with a developmental model similar to that of the French Absolutism under Luis XIV. For this he could count with a supporting base in which were joined some members of the high aristocracy touched by the first currents of the Enlight-

enment, like the Counts of Ericeira and Assumar, the Marquis of Fronteira and the Marquis of Alegrete, and a nucleus of intellectuals coming from various social groups from the lesser nobility to the urban bourgeois and the so-called «nobreza de toga» (magistracy), but all educated directly or indirectly under the influence of French rationalism, like his favourite and ambassador D. Luis da Cunha, his secretary Alexandre de Gusmão, D. Manuel Caetano de Sousa, future president of the Royal Academy of History, Manuel de Azevedo Fortes, chief engineer of the Kingdom and the Theatines Raphael Bluteau, D. António Caetano de Sousa and José Barbosa, amongst others. In different degrees and forms all these names implicitly associated with a common project of economic development based on a wide encouragement of manufacture, commerce and agriculture promoted by the Crown. However this project also included a will for idealogical renovation coming from a rejection of the dominant scholastic thinking and Aristotelian logic, as well as the ecclesiastical preponderance — especially Jesuit — with which they were associated. Thus they defended a new scientific spirit linked to the spread of the study of Algebra, of Geometry, of Physics and of Chemistry, also the abandonment of scholastic pedagogy in education, Gongoric formalism in literature, and of the formal unbalance of Mannerism in the arts. As much on the politico-economic plane as in ideology and culture the figure of a central, omnipotent and enlightened power, embodied in the person of the King, arises for the whole process as a catalyist without substitute. The repeatedly reaffirmed need throughout this reign to construct a monumental symbolic representation of the royal Power can thus be understood as happened in all the Absolutist European regimes, particularly in France, and not as the result of a mere megolomaniacal caprice of the sovereign but as an essential condition of the very efficacy of the implantation of the new State model.

What is original in the Absolutism of D. João V in relation to its European paralells is to have understood that the principal obstacle to its full implantation lay in the weight and disproportinate autonomy that, in political, economic and cultural terms, the Church had managed to acquire in the bosom of Portuguese society since the establishment of the Counter-Reformation in the mid-XVI century, and that in consequence the affirmation of the new strongly interventionist role of the Crown involved before anything its capacity to subordinate the ecclesiastical apparatus to its authority. Paradoxically, for this it was essential to begin by reinforcing the

very unity and internal discipline of the Church, endowing it with a rigorous hierarchical structure that was super-imposed on the traditional autonomy of the great ecclesiastical institutions; but at the same time it was necessary to guarantee that the highest level of this hierarchy was itself clearly dependent on royal authority.

Using his influence through the Roman Curia which had been extended with the victorious participation of the Portuguese fleet in the defeat of the Turks at Matapan, in 1717, D. João V began to try to aggrandize precisely the religious institution which most unequivocably came under his personal control — his Royal Chapel, which on 16th May of 1710, by grace of Pope Clement XI was promoted to College, coming to include as well as the Chief Chaplain, a Dean and five other Dignitaries, eighteen Canons, twelve Beneficiaries and numerous lesser clergy. On the 7th November 1716, by bull of the same Pope, the secular archdiocese of Lisbon was subdivided in two parts: the Eastern section of the capital remained in the dependency of the ancient Cathedral and the Western section stayed under the jurisdiction of the Royal Chapel which was elevated to Metropolitan Basilica, its Chief Chaplain receiving the title of Patriarch. On the 27th December of 1737 the Patriarch of Lisbon finally acquired from Clement XII the dignity of Cardinal and on 13th December of 1740 the diocese of Eastern Lisbon was integrated in the Patriarchate (Vasconcelos, 1870: I, 161-168). Thus was completed an ingenious process in which the old Portuguese religious institutions were placed under the primacy of a Prince of the Church who was, despite, the pomp, the splendour and the magnificence linked to his double dignity as Cardinal and Patriarch, the mere chaplain of the King of Portugal.

In this way we are in the face of a complex process of interpenetration between royal Power and ecclesiastical Power which, in spite of the clear predominance assumed by the first, leads to its symbolical affirmation passing in large measure through the appropration of the traditional attributes of the second. The clearest consequence of this equivocal phenomenon of the superimposing of the sacred and secular universes is the fact that, as in France or in Austria, the Baroque was also implanted in Portugal as an Art of the monumental representation of absolute Power but instead of doing it in accord with the secular models of the court of Luis XIV or the Emperor Leopold I — by chance father-in-law of the Portuguese monarch — it was done rather in moulds assumedly copied from the Court of the Roman Pontificate.

In this way D. João V — naturally devout, a characteristic which increased with age — tried to assume this bizarre role of Priest-King, reaching the point of obtaining from the Pope an authorisation to say the Mass so that the famous saying of Frederic II the Great that «ses plaisirs étaient des fonctions sacerdotales, ses bâtiments des couvents, ses armés des moines, et ses maîtresses des réligieuses» can be understood (Brito, 1978: 2), to which the Prussian monarch could have added on the musical plane «that his Operas were sung Masses».

The musical preoccupations of D. João V were effectively before anything directed to the dominion of the liturgy in which from very early on he sought to reform the musical practice of the Royal Chapel, moulding it in accordance with the aesthetic orientations and the monumental dimensions of the Papal Chapel. The first victim of this reform is the tradition of the religious vallancico, genre which was sung for the last time at the Royal Chapel in the Matins of the feast of the Conception, Christmas of 1715 and in those of Epiphany in 1716, from then on being completely excluded from the liturgy of that institution. The villancico survived for some years in some Lisbon churches of more conservative liturgical style on the occasion of the feasts of especially respected Saints as in case of São Vicente in the Cathedral of Lisbon, of Santa Cecília in the Church of Santa Justa, of São Gonçalo in the Convent of Esperança, or of Santa Ana in the Church of São Pedro de Alfama, but in 1723 the King decided to forbid its use in the worship of all the Churches of the Country, and this radical decision to so eradicate that which was the most rooted of the indigenous liturgico-musical traditions inherited from the previous century, is the clear sign of the definitive transition of Portuguese Music to the phase of the Italianate Baroque.

THE ROMAN STYLE IN SACRED MUSIC

The preoccupation of D. João V with the musical quality of the liturgical ceremonies celebrated in the Royal Chapel is shown in two complementary ways: the importation of professional musicians of the top European quality and the creation of adequate pedagogic structures for the competent training of Portuguese musicians.

In the first case, the favourite target of the policy of contracting was naturally Rome, seat of the Papal Chapel whose luxury was

above all sought to be emulated in his liturgical reform, and the contacts with the Roman musical scene were facilitated by the impact of the arrival in the Eternal City of the opulent embassy of D. Rodrigo de Meneses, Marquis de Fontes, on July 7th 1716, with his sumptuous coaches that the painter Vieira Lusitano described as «mountains of hammered gold» and with magnificent presents offered by D. João V to Pope Clement XI (Lacerda, 1934: 623). Portugal must have gained in Roman circles a true image of *El Dorado*, reinforced by the great display of the musical spectacles promoted by our embassy: the offer of enormous salaries allowed the Marquis-Ambassador, and later his successor, the Count of Galveias, to contract for the service of the Portuguese Royal Chapel various singers of great prestige, some of them coming from the Papel Chapel itself, in a recruiting drive whose continuation resulted that in 1730 the Chapel of the D. João V already contained twenty six Italian singers (Brito, 1989b: 109-110).

One of the musicians who had been involved in the musical productions patronized in Rome by D. Rodrigo de Meneses was the Master of the Cappela Giulia, the young Domenico Scarlatti, and his contacts with our embassy must have been carried out efficatiously, seen that in 1719 the composer abandoned this post and accepted that of Master of the Portuguese Royal Chapel. The exact date of Scarlatti's arrival in Lisbon to take up his new function is unknown, but this may not have happened before the end of 1722 or the beginning of 1723 (id.), but already in 1720 his serenata «da cantarsi» titled *Contesa delle staggioni* was performed in the Palace on the occasion of the birthday of Queen D. Mariana de Austria.

In addition to his intervention in the secular musical life of the court, to which we will refer later, Scarlatti had above all in his charge the direction of the Chapel and — in these terms — the supervision of all the musical liturgical activity of that institution. According to a famous description of the *Musikalisches Lexikon* by Johann Gottfried Walther, in 1728 he had at his disposal an orchestra of seven violinists (two of whom could play the oboe), two viola-players, two cellists and a double-bass player, all foreigners (1 Genovese, 2 Florentines, 3 Romans, 1 Frenchman, 2 Bohemian, 3 Catalans and one Portuguese of German parents), as well as a group of 30 or 40 singers, in their majority Italians and a Portuguese Vice Chapel Master and organist, Carlos Seixas (Walther, 1732: 469). On a level with the concertado religious repertory which would

have certainly been introduced in the liturgy of the chapel and of which even today some examples survive in the Arquivo da Fábrica da Sé Patriarcal, like three of his own sacred scores for voices and Basso Continuo (the motet *Te gloriosus* in four parts and a *Te Deum* and a Psalm *Laudate pueri* in eight parts), the Italian Master was responsible for the performance of polyphony, now all made by him from books of the Papal Chapel, copied by order of the King.

To guarantee the adequate training of young Portuguese musicians, D. João V established on April 9 of 1713, dependent on the Royal Chapel, a seminary specialised to this end. Already after the institution of the Patriarchate of Lisbon, the school would be transferred to the convent of S. Francisco, with the definitive name of the Seminário da Patriarcal. Its internal regulations seems to have been initially copied from the College of the Kings in Vila Viçosa, only later receiving, from 1765, its own statutes according to which gifted children of up eight years old were admitted (or ten in the case of special talent or any age if they were castrated). The teaching system was formed so as to endow the pupils with an intense practical training in the ambit of sacred Music and its efficiency is proven by the fact that it trained, until it was replaced by the present Conservatory, in 1835, successive generations of professional musicians of unassailable professional quality including almost all the principal XVIII century Portuguese composers.

The particular sphere of influence of the Seminário da Patriarcal was however religious music of the concerted style so that in 1729 the sovereign decided to create a second pedagogic institution especially dedicated to chant. He did it by joining three convents, in the zone of Caxias, the Franciscan friars of the province of Arrábida who were gifted with the best voices for the performance of Gregorian chant, and established in one of these convents — Santa Catarina de Ribamar — a school of chant destined for the novices of the three establishments, which he put under the charge of a Venetian Master of great prestige, Giovanni Giorgi. That one of the curiosities of this school was the so-called *canto capucho* — the harmonisation in four parts, in fauxbourdon style, of some of the Gregorian melodies — or that in some of their manuscripts are found in certain cadential passages of traditional melodies, completely spurious virtuoso cadenzas that would have been the envy of any opera singer, are aspects that do not seem to have offended the Monarch's purism. In fact, he confided the new convent of Mafra precisely

to the friars of Arrábida, and patronised the editing of manuals of chant in accordance with the principles of the order, especially the famous *Teatro Eclesiástico* by Fr. Domingos do Rosário, object of several editions until the beginning of the XIX century. In passing it is to be mentioned that Giorgi was indisputably a composer of the top rank in the *concertato* style, as witness the almost three hundred scores of sacred works by him surviving in the Archive of the Lisbon Cathedral (Vieira, 1900: I, 554).

In the case of some especially gifted pupils of the Patriarchal Seminary, D. João V had them sent to Italy with scholarships, this being the case of António Teixeira who had already left in 1716 or 1717, of João Rodrigues Esteves and of Francisco António de Almeida (Brito 1989 a: 6). The chosen destination was once again Rome, a phenomenon of the greatest importance in that our young composers were thus under the aegis of the Roman ecclesiastical Baroque, in the tradition of Benevoli, Carissimi and more recently of Scarlatti's successor in the Cappella Giulia, Orazio Pittoni.

All our scholarship-holders had, as is obvious, opportunity to a greater or lesser degree, to become familiar with an operatic tradition which was not foreign to the Papal City, but both the specialised training they received or the aural experience they accumulated were concentrated in the realm of sacred music of *concertato* style, of massive choral writing for 8 or more voices or of oratorio. It was in these genres that the three Portuguese composers came in fact to give some of their best proofs of compositional *métier*, with pride of place for an excellent polychoral *Te Deum* with ample orchestral accompaniment by António Teixeira who on his return to Lisbon came to enter the Patriarcal as a singer, for the contrapuntal solidity of the *Missa a 8* and the concertante richness of the *Magnificat* by Rodrigues Esteves (Doderer, 1980: 23-128, 189-252), who became Master of Music of the Seminário da Patriarcal, and for the passionate expressivity of the oratorio *La Giuditta* by Francisco António de Almeida, first performed in Rome 1726, two years before its author's return to Portugal, where he was also contracted by the Patriarcal as organist (Brito, 1989a: 7). To the religious production of these composers should be joined that of Carlos Seixas, to whom we will refer in greater detail in dealing with instrumental Music, including a Mass for 4 soloists, chorus, 2 violins and basso continuo which shows the same melodic inspiration and rhythmic force of his best keyboard sonatas.

THE RISE OF OPERA

For all the above reasons it is to be understood that the Opera was the most innovative and least determining feature of the musical politics of D. João V. Manuel Carlos de Brito, whose pioneering studies trace a precious picture of operatic devolution in Portugal during the XVIII century which we limit ourselves to paraphrasing, shows that during the reign of D. João V only seven musico-theatral spectacles were put on in court which can be truly identified as of an operatic nature. From 1716, on the birthdays of the King, the Queen and the Princes, as well as on those of foreign sovereigns with whom the Portuguese Royal Family was linked by family ties, Italian serenades were put on at court dedicated to these ephemerities, substituting the old comedies and zarzuelas in Spanish which we have seen traditionally produced on this type of occasion. Of the representation of these serenatas in the majority of cases only the notices of the *Gazeta de Lisboa* have reached us and only sporadically the respective libretti, that not always even mention the composers responsible for the Music, amongst whom Domenico Scarlatti, the Baron of Astorga and Francisco António de Almeida. On the other hand the libretti almost have the indication of *da cantarsi*, suggesting performance in concert version without any scenic element (Brito, 1989b: 110).

In the Carnaval of 1728 the representation of three *intermezzi* in six voices entitled *Il D. Chisciotte della Mancia* in a theatre especially improvised for the purpose in the Ribeira Palace marks the production of the first spectacle of operatic character. The Music was probably by Scarlatti himself and the spectacle was repeated in 1730, 1731 and 1734 (Brito, 1989b: 111). In the life time of D. João V six operas were put on at the Palace, the first *La pazienza di Socrate* (1733), with libretti probably by the King's secretary Alexandre de Gusmão and Music by Francisco António de Almeida, who also composed the scores of *La finta pazza* (1735) and *La Spinalba ovvero il vecchio matto* (1739). However, the impact for these spectacles was reduced, in that the monarch himself did not seem to have given them great attention, missing the performances on various occasions and that the severe limits of protocol on public admission excluded even the majority of the court nobility with the exception of a few privileged allowed to watch hidden in the wings. On the other hand in every case we are dealing with *opera buffa*, which signifies that the most representative genre of italian

Baroque opera of the first half of the century — the *opera seria* did not penetrate the Portuguese court (Brito, 1989a: 9-11).

Parallel to the events of the Court musical life there was a period of indefinition as to the permissibility of public music-theatral spectacles, interrupted since the King in 1727 prohibited the traditional representations of comedies promoted by the Hospital de Todos os Santos. From October of 1731 we find successive references to the performance of serenatas in musical evenings put on in the salons of various private individuals like Lázaro Leitão, a Canon of the Cathedral with the participation of amateurs and professionals. In January of 1733 already active in this private circuit was a company of Italian singers directed by Alessandro Paghetti, violinist of the Royal Chamber and in which his three daughters, known as the *Paquetas*, took part, but only in December of 1735 this company put on their first performance of public Opera, which happened in neighbouring houses of the Convent of Trindade. The chosen work was *Farnace*, an *opera seria* by Gaetano Maria Schiassi, and the resulting success secured the company of this Academia da Trindade the continuation of its operatic activity, which from 1738 was transferred to a new theatre in the Rua dos Condes, built on sites belonging to the Count of Ericeira. In the new building were shown until 1742, as well as various *intermezzi*, twenty- five óperas *serie* with Music by Schiassi, Leonardo Leo, Rinaldo de Capua and by Pergolesi, some of which were repeated, countaining prestigious casts which from 1740 included one of the singers who worked with Händel in London, the tenor Annibale Pio Fabri (Brito, 1989b: 102-103).

At the same time other types of musico-theatral spectacle of hybrid character were put on in the capital. Amongst these were the so-called *presépios* in which were apparently combined elements of the old Vicentine theatre tradition with the most recent Castilian comedies and which ended up by themselves coming into the sphere of influence of the new Italian operatic fashion, this *morbus melodrammaticus* which rapidly conquered the Lisbon public as it had in all Europe. On the other hand, in June 1733, in a room belonging to the Count of Soure which became known as the Theatre of the Bairro Alto, began the representation of puppet-shows or *bonifrates*, which in spite of being essentialy spoken theatre, ended each scene in the manner of the English *ballad opera*, for example with a musical number of Italian style. The use of the Portuguese language allowed a stronger communication with the public, so much more

important when the texts, by António José da Silva, known as «the Jew» and in a tradition coming from Gil Vicente and Lope de Vega and reaching Goldoni and Beaumarchais, had a clear satirical content that did not spare the power of the nobility, the abuses of the Law, or the hypocrisy of the current moral codes.

The operas of António José da Silva put on in the Theatre of Bairro Alto were eight, being cut short by the imprisonment, judgement and execution of their author in the hands of the Holy Office in 1739: *Vida do grande D. Quixote de la Mancha* (1733), *Esopaida ou vida de Esposo* (1734), *Os encantos de Medéia* (1735), *Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena* (1736), *O labirinto de Creta* (1736), *Guerras de Alecrim e Mangerona* (1737), *As variedades de Proteu* (1737) and *Precipício de Faetonte* (1738). With the exception of the first, the Music of all the others seems to have been composed by António Teixeira, until recently only two of which were known (*Guerras* and *Os Encantos*), preserved in the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa (Brito, 1989a: 20-22). Recently however came to light the news that the operas of «the Jew» were continually performed from an indefined period of the XVIII century in the small Brazilian city of Pirenópolis in the state of Goiás, associated with the annual feast of the city's patron saint. The Music of Teixeira thus survived, despite successive adaptations to the taste and the available means of performance of each epoch, so that perhaps it will be possible to reconstruct this repertory.

In their total the public performances of the Trindade and Rua dos Condes theaters on the one hand and of the Bairro Alto on the other, show a wish to appropriate on the part of civil society, an Italian operatic influence which penetrated Portugal in exclusively Court circles, corresponding to a deliberate strategy of policial, ideological and artistic renewal promoted by the monarch himself, and were until then fundamentally channelled by the specific conditions in which we have seen this strategy unfolding, in the orbit of liturgical Music. There are indications that the Italian operas of the Trindade and the Rua dos Condes dedicated *alla nobilitá di Portogallo*, were principally frequented by the courtly aristocracy, knowing nominally of private sessions completely contracted by noble Ladies for their guests (Brito, 1989b: 102), while the theatre of Bairro Alto attracted a public of principally bourgeois extraction, naturally less open to the use of Italian language and more sensible to the social satire and the jokes, sometimes a trifle risqué, of the texts of «the Jew». However, as Manuel Carlos de Brito suggests,

the two theatres were not entirely closed from the sociological point of view and more important than any a priori sociological explanation is, in our opinion, the underlining of this *civilian component* which they shared and which would only come to be shared by the court in the reign of D. José I.

Meanwhile, the advanced age and delicate health of D. João V gradually submerged him in a profound mysticism which was accentuated from 1742, when he became partially paralysed. The death of his Secretary of State, Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real, in 1736, left him without a sufficiently informed advisor to serve as support for the renovating projects of his youth, and the religious terror which invaded his last years made him depend more and more on conservative eccliastical personalities like Cardinal da Mota, or the outright fanatic Fr. Gaspar da Encarnação, resulting in a clear ascendency of the more traditional and intolerant sectors of the Church. Thus in 1742 the King's ill-health brought about the total ban on theatrical performance in Lisbon, which was followed in 1746 by a ban on public and private dances (Id.: 103). Until the sovereign's death in 1750, the italianized operatic current showed itself only in concealed forms that remind us of the passage of the secular villancico into the liturgy in the context of the Counter-Reformation: in September 1747, for example, was shown in Oporto «*an Oratorio with music for five voices with recitatives and arias as in opera: all composed in Portuguese verse [...] and alluding to the improvement of our Sovereign*» (Brito, 1989a: 134) whose title is itself sufficiently revealing of this attitude.

DANCE AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The taste for Italian opera was accompanied in the reign of D. João V by a fascination for French courtly dance which invaded the stage and private salons until the above mentioned ban on spectacles and dances. The diary of the Count of Ericeira of the years 1731-32 mentions that «serenades and balls continue to be popular» and there are abundant references in documents of the age to the wide-spread search for French dancing masters in society. In 1751 a Dance Master in Oporto, Félix Kinsky, was responsible for the translation of the celebrated *Choréographie* by Feuillet (Paris, 1700) and for the com-

pilation of an anthology of *Récueils de Danses* by this choreographer where the titles of the works frequently mention the authors of respective choreographys (*Paspie par Monsieur Pecour, Minuet par Monsieur Blondi* or *La Silbie par Monsieur Balon*, for example) (Sasportes, 1970: 174-1977; Azevedo, 1986: VII).

An evidence of this penetration of dance forms are their general appearance in our sources of instrumental Music, with emphasis on the relatives of one of the instruments which was the object of the greatest evolution in the picture of musical life in the reign of D. João V, the guitar. We know three Portuguese manuscripts for guitar from the first half of the XVIII century, one in the General Library of Coimbra University, another in the collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the third in a source that belonged to the Counts of Redondo and the Marquises of Borba, acquired in 1982 by the Instituto Português do Património Cultural. The reconstruction of the repertory they contain is extremely problematical given that they were written in Baroque tablature that indicates the pitch but lacks rhythmic indications.

The mere examination of the titles of the works is however revealing. We find, for example, in the book of Count Redondo, published in facsimile, as much French dances (numerous minuets, counter-dances, sarabandes, gigues and *amables*) as traditional Iberian dances (folias, rojões, oitavados and a *Castilian ball*) and as pieces suggesting African-Brazilian influence like a *Camzindo de Sofalla* and a *Cumbe* (Azevedo, 1986: XXVIII).

In the sources for keyboard instruments equally appear innumerable minuets which, in spite of a tendency to simplicity of construction resembling for example the *Note-book of Anna Magdalena Bach*, appear to constitute an autonomous solo genre, constructed from a stylisation of rhythms and forms of the dance without being destined specifically for dancing.

The greatest cultivator of these and almost all the types of keyboard music of the period in question is José António Carlos de Seixas (1704-1742), known in his time by his first three names and today as Carlos Seixas. Son of the organist of Coimbra Cathedral, Francisco Vaz, his precocious development made him, at sixteen, recently arrived in Lisbon, nominated organist of Lisbon Cathedral where a little later he rose to the distinction of Vice Chapel Master, a not to be demeaned honour at a time when the Chapel Master was Scarlatti himself and when the institution contained no other Portuguese musician. With regard to relations between Scarlatti and

his young Portuguese lieutenant, a manuscript of the age gives us an interesting episode:

> [...] the most Serene Lord Infante D. António wished that the great Scarlatti, being in Lisbon at the same time should give him [Seixas] regular lessons, on that erroneous principle that the Portuguese, for all they can do, never do as well as foreigners, and commanded him to do it. He [Scarlatti] only seeing him place his hands on the Harpsichord, recognising the Giant by the finger, and said «It is your excellency who should give me lessons» and meeting that Lord [the Infante] said «Your Highness ordered me to examine but should know that the subject is one of the greatest masters that I have heard». [Alegria, 1944-1945: 28.]

Whether this episode happened or not, and admitting that if true Scarlatti was only trying to be affable with a member of the Portuguese Royal Family, what is certain is that the work of Seixas does not leave doubt as to the profound creative originality of this author and — by extension — of the Portuguese harpsichord school of this period. In spite of the *Biblioteca Lusitana* telling us that the composer left more than seven hundred tocatas for harpsichord, today we only know one hundred and five, contained, some in duplicate and with frequent significant differences between the respective sources, in various manuscripts preserved in the General Library of Coimbra University, the National Library of Lisbon and the Library of Ajuda.

The terms *tocata* and *sonata* are used synonymously in these manuscripts, and in effect we find in them revealing examples of the evolution of the Baroque sonata for keyboard from their simple two-part form as present for example in the works of Alessandro Scarlatti copied in 1733 in a Portuguese manuscript of *Obras Romanas per organ* preserved in the General Library of Coimbra University. In some cases Seixas goes beyond the limits of this structure and expands the initial section of the second part of the work with a passage so full of modulation and such liberty of thematic manipulation, before returning to a strict parallelism to the first part, that we end up with a three-part structure that appears to anticipate the Classical sonata-form. On the other hand, the irregular and asymmetrical character of phrasing and the rhythmic writing of Seixas, should be pointed out, which instead of the balanced phrases of

Scarlatti, with their regular measure of 8 + 8 bars accentuated in 2 in 2 or 4 in 4 beats (the so-called baroque *quadrature*), frequently displace the rhythmic accents of the first strong beat on each bar and distribute their phrases in groups of bars as irregular as 5 + 4 + 4 + 2 + 2 + 3.

His harmony is in general of extreme simplicity, playing especially with modulations to parallel tonalities or the nearest stage in the cycle of fifths. His inspiration is hence fundamentally channeled towards melodic invention, especially in slow movements with an expression of sentiments, direct and almost always melancoly, underlined by his preference for minor keys, to the point that Santiago Kastner could note in them some expressive characteristics similar to the German *Empfindsamkeit* as for example expressed in the works of a Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach (Kastner, 1947: 106-114). This lyrical and sentimental component is, indeed common to the only three surviving works of his contemporary, the Paulist Fr. Jacinto do Sacramento (d.1736), «most dextrous player» of harp and organ (Nery, 1980: 55).

It is difficult to attribute the sonatas of Seixas to a specific keyboard instrument. In their majority the titles of the manuscripts denote them equally for harpsichord or organ, in the line of the Iberian keyboard tradition inherited from the previous century. The analysis of his idiomatic characteristics suggest however, that the majority of these works were destined for the harpsichord or the clavichord, an instrument that knew great popularity in Portugal in the XVIII century, to the point that various examples of Portuguese manufacture have reached us (Doderer, 1971). There are however some works specifically indicated as *Tocata para Orgam* or as «Fuga» whose writing appears to confirm this attribution. In these cases, as in the *Versos sobre o Canto Chão Para Orgão* (Verses on the Chant for the organ) by the Paulist Fr. Jerónimo da Madre de Deus, preserved in the Évora Public Library (Nery, 1980: 49-50), is confirmed, once again, the fundamental difference between this free fugal writing of Mediterranean roots, alternating passages in four or five parts with long episodes in two or three parts and imitative sections with others of accompanied melody, and the contrapuntal rigour of the four-voice fugues of the North German school.

Carlos Seixas is the author of the orchestral works registered in a manuscript of the Ajuda Library which as well as their intrinsic quality have the interest of documenting the knowledge of some

significant forms of the European instrumental Baroque of scarcely documented use in the Peninsula.

They are an *Overture* in D major in the French style, with slow first movement in dotted rhythms and the alternation of sections in contrasting time signatures typical of this form, a *Sinfonia* in B flat with the characteristic Italian sequence of a fast movement, a slow and a fast, and the extraordinary Concerto for harpsichord and strings which is one of the first examples of this genre in all Europe and thus constitutes less a phoenomen of the assimilation of exterior stylistic conventions than an original contribution to the European musical Baroque in its entirety (Kastner, 1947).

3.3 — The late Baroque and the post-Baroque

OPERA AND SACRED MUSIC IN THE REIGNS OF D. JOSÉ I AND D. MARIA I

On July 31st of 1750, by chance only three days after the death of Johann Sebastian Bach, D. João V died. His kingdom was welded, as we have seen, by the entire subordination to the crown of the intermediate ecclesiastical bodies, whose secular privileges constituted the most formidable of the obstacles to the centralization of power in the heart of Portuguese society, but this priority of the Absolutism of D. João V was carried out to a large extent at the cost of the implantation in Portugal of a civilian component that in other European courts marked the affirmation of the ideas of the Enlighterment.

The imposition of an absolute and undisputed authority on the ecclesiastic apparatus constituted a fundamental stage in the genesis of the modern State without which the future reforms of the Marquis of Pombal could never have happened, but the price of this centralizing strategy *al divino* was an excessive interpenetration of the symbolic universes of the sacred and the secular, distancing royal power from purely secular areas of cultural production, like Opera for example, that in the majority of the other absolute monarchys of Europe reached a truly emblematic status as symbol of the concept of Absolutism itself.

If this situation had been limited to the artistic and cultural life of the Portuguese Court, but had left free rein to the development of secular genres in ordinary society as had happened in the period

of the great public success of the Theatres of Trindade, Rua dos Condes and of the Bairro Alto, there would have probably been a parallel evolution of a courtly Baroque of strong sacred leanings and its secular counterpoint directly promoted by enlightened sections of the nobility and the great urban bourgeois. However the last eight years of the sovereign's life, in severing so radically the natural affirmation of this second current, generated an accumulated tension which could not fail to lead to radical change straight after his death, so much the more so when in the heart of the block hostile to the devotional excesses of D. João V's administration, were included the very wife of the Crown-prince, D. Mariana Victória de Bourbon, whose letters to Madrid clearly reveal her discontent with the ban on balls and public spectacles (Brito, 1989a: 176-177).

The ascent to the throne of D. José I and the subsequent arrival in power of his new minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, future Marquis of Pombal, came to completely alter this situation. Above all because the model of Absolutism now applied, implied a clear symbolic and hierarchic distinction between State and Church, leading specifically to the open conflict between Pombal and the Company of Jesus; also, because the strong impulse given by the Pombaline reforms to the more innovative sectors of society and to the Portuguese economy favoured the re-awakening of autonomous cultural initiatives promoted by these sectors; finally because both D. José and D. Mariana Victória were themselves appreciators of Italian opera and were decided to give an example of a new civilian impulse which from now on would be felt in Portuguese Culture.

It is once again thanks to the work of Manuel Carlos de Brito that we can reconstruct the sequence of this new chapter of operatic activity in Portugal. Thus, already in 1751 our embassy in Italy made efforts in the sense of contracting some of the best opera singers of the age, with pride of place for the celebrated *castrato* Gioacchino Conti, better known as Gizziello, but also for a plethora of other singers who in 1752 included Giuseppe Gallieni, Niccola Conti, Giovanni Simone Ciucci, Domenico Luciani and the German tenor Anton Raaf, later one of the original cast of Mozart's *Idomeneo*. Also in 1752 Giovanni Carlo Sicini Bibiena entered in the Court service, a member of one of the most famous dynasties of Italian theatre architects and cenographers who brought with him a team of assistants including the scene-painter Giacomo Azzolini

and the designer of stage machinery Petronio Mazzoni. Bibiena set to work on the planning and construction of a series of royal Opera theatres, of various dimensions: a provisional theatre by the Torreão da Casa da Índia, a small theatre in Ajuda, a larger one in the Palace of Salvaterra and especially the monumental *Casa da Ópera* next to the Paço da Ribeira, which became known as the «Opera of the Tagus» (id.: 24-26; 1989b: 112-113, 127-136).

To head this gigantic machine of operatic production, D. José contracted whom was considered in his time as one of the most prestigious composers of the genre, the Neapolitan David Perez (1711-1778), former Master of the Royal Palatine Chapel of Palermo and respected in the principal theatres of Italian Opera from Naples to Vienna. Perez, who came to earn the fabulous annual salary of 2,000$00 réis, directed already in September of 1752, the principal Italian singers meanwhile contracted, in the performance of his opera *Il Siroe*, which was put on in the new theatre of the Torreão da Casa da Índia, and from now on the representation of his works was multiplied in the various court theatres.

The high point of David Peres'stay in Lisbon came on March 31 of 1755 when his opera *Alessandro nell'Indie*, on a libretto by Metastasio with scenery by Bibiena and one of the most brilliant lyric casts it was possible to bring together in Europe, inaugurated the new Opera of the Tagus with a production so monumental that, according to descriptions that have reached us, the Macedonian phalanx was represented by a detachment of cavalry troops and one of the court masters of equitation made Alexander's horse, Bucefalus, give an exhibition of *haute école* to the sound of a march especially written for the effect by the composer (Brito, 1989a: 28). As for the new theatre, the surviving witnesses vary in relation to the harmony of its proportions and to the kind of public to which they were destined: a contemporary list describes the distribution of the various boxes in which in addition to the sovereign and the Royal Family was expected the presence of the highest dignitaries of the court nobility, the peak of the ecclesiastical, judicial and military hierarchys and the diplomatic corps based in Lisbon (id.: 28-30).

The earthquake of November 1st of 1755, in devastating the Lisbon Baixa, also completely destroyed the Opera of the Tagus which was not included in the city's reconstruction project. Pombal had allowed, in a first phase, the truly Baroque principle of a great Court Opera which could be the stage of a double representation:

on one hand of operatic spectacle as such, but on the other most especially a theatre of absolute Power in which the pinnacle of the state was made regularily public in a space and protocol centred on the person of the King. But the essence of the Pombaline model of Enlightened despotism implied in the last analysis, the affirmation of a relative symbolic autonomy of the power of the State in relation to the figure of the sovereign, receiving from the principle of royal authority the essence of its legitimacy but attributing to the daily institutional function of this authority an emblematical role of its own. In this way the monarch came to leave the central zone of the capital to the machine of a central administration, establishing himself with his court in a wooden palace at Ajuda, and it was in a small theatre adjoining this palace or in the Theatre of Salvaterra that from 1763 recommenced the activity of royal opera, stripped of its previous representational functions and reduced to a dimension of palace entertainment of the Royal Family and its immediate train.

This new statute did not imply any disinterest of D. José for the Opera. On the contrary from 1763 to his death in 1777 the contracting of Italian singers of renown continued as well as the massive acquisitions in that country of stage props, extras and wardrobe, libretti and scores which explained the presence in the Royal Library of Ajuda a collection of around 700 scores of XVIII century Italian Opera scores, the greater part of which were never mounted in Portugal. In this context should be integrated the contract made in 1769 with the greatest composer of the Neapolitan school of this period, Niccoló Jommelli, who in exchange for an annual pension, sent to the Portuguese court every year an *opera seria,* an *opera buffa* and various works of religious Music (Brito, 1989b: 117-119).

The enthronement of D. Maria in 1777 and the unfolding of a process of parcial revision of Pombaline politics which became known as the *viradeira* (turn around) did not especially alter this panorama except in the measure that the economic restrictions introduced in State expenditure in the last decades of the century led to the Court moderating its outlay in operatic activity. In the palaces of Queluz and Ajuda Italian opera continued to be regularily shown, however with the feature that *opera seria* gradually fell into disfavour in relation to *opera buffa* of which were performed scores by celebrated composers like Guglielmi, Paisiello and Cimarosa. On the other hand, on a par with the Opera shows as such,

were sung a large number of serenatas, a semi-operatic genre of more modest dimensions which was in general performed in concert version an allowed, for this reason, an appreciable economy in the formal expense of scenary, stage machinery and wardrobe. There were put on, in the same way, in both the palaces, particularly for the birthday celebrations of membres of the Royal Family, frequent concerts in which the singers and instrumentalists of the Royal Chamber performed mixed programs of arias and instrumental pieces.

While the operatic activity of the Court closed in on itself following the earthquake, the public theatres of Lisbon reopened their doors little by little. The first seems to have been the Theatre of the Bairro Alto, reconstructed over a part of the ruins of the palace of the Counts of Soure, and in a permanent activity from 1760-1771 which included spoken theatre and music theatre of the most varied natures, including some Italian operas. At the end of the 1760's, when the legal norms were relaxed to the point of allowing for some years that female singers and not by *castrati*, the sisters Cecília Rosa, Isabel Ifigénia and Luisa Rosa de Aguiar distinguished themselves, the last destined for a brilliant international lyrical career under her married name of Luisa Todi.

The Theatre of Rua dos Condes re-opened in 1762 and remained in uninterrupted activity until 1775, to close until 1778, without it being clear the reasons for such an inter-regnum. It was here that between 1772 and 1775 the Italian singer Anna Zamperini, reached huge success, object of exalted passions on the part of numerous members of Lisbon society, including amongst them even the Count of Oeiras, son of the Marquis of Pombal, which caused great public scandal and inspired innumerable satires from the poets of the era. In the last place, in November of 1782 arose a new public theatre, this time in the Rua do Salitre, remaining, like that of the Rua dos Condes, in activity until 1794 (Brito, 1989a: 83-104).

The exploitation of these theatres was not always lucrative and switched from impresario to impresario with varying degrees of success. In 1771 was constituted on the iniciative of some dozens of the capital's businessmen, a «*Society for the Support of the Lisbon Public Theatres*», which counted on the support of the Senate of the city with the aim of exploiting the theatres of the Bairro Alto, destined for theatre in Portuguese, and of the Rua dos Condes, reserved for libretti in Italian. The *Society* worked out rules precisely for the functioning of operatic and theatrical activity, including norms for the contracting of casts, the acquisition of scenary material and

the exploitation of the ticket-office, but ended in commercial collapse which led to his dissolution in spite of the fact that some of its associates came to be later involved with the establishment of the Teatro de São Carlos (id: 94-96). Already in the reign of D. Maria the supervision and regulation of the theatres of opera were personally exercised by the all-powerfull Chief of Police, Diogo Inácio de Pina Munique, who reintroduced the ban on the appearence on stage of interpreters of the female sex. For reasons which are not obvious this prohibition does not seem to have had effect in Oporto where from 1760 an operatic life took place of some intensity in a building belonging to the Duke of Lafões which became known as the theatre of the Corpo da Guarda (id.: 110-120).

All this intense operatic activity in the Portugal of the second half of the XVIII century took place under the aegis of the Neapolitan school which dominated the evolution of Italian opera of the 18th century as its Venetian relation had in the previous century. Already in the full reign of D. João V the Neapolitan influence made itself felt in the operatic repertory presented here even Portuguese musical life was as a whole still dominated by models of the Roman ecclesiastical Baroque; the recommencing of the flourishing of Opera in Portugal from 1750 cannot allow us not to re-insert — now in reinforced forms — the area of influence of the school of Naples, which meanwhile spread through all Europe as the strongest Italian operatic reference. The formative presence of David Perez at the head of the musical apparatus of the Court from 1752 would be a determining agent of this evolution.

Neapolitan opera of the second half of the century is however a genre in profound aesthetic and formal transformation. As much Perez as later Jommelli, Hasse, Traetta and other composers — by chance all with works presented in the Portugal of this period, in greater or lesser number — were linked to an effort of dramatic revitalization of the genre that, without breaking away from the traditional structure of the libretto in the style of Metastasio, with its basic sequence of arias separated by recitatives, tried to instill a new emotional force in these hallowed moulds. The models received by the Portuguese operatic scene since the beginning of the reign of D. José were hence those with a renovating tendency to use with greater frequency the accompanied recitative, to introduce in the libretti a greater number of ensemble scenes, concertantes and choruses, and in general, underline all the elements capable of giving dramatic coherence and renewed expressivity — kinds

of preoccupation which overtook by far the Italian Opera of the high Baroque and are not very distant from those which at the same time were being expressed by, for example, a Gluck.

The mark of the Neapolitan school was not made exclusively in the Portuguese musical scene by the direct example of imported composers and works. As in the reign of D. João V the Crown sent some young Portuguese musicians to Italy with scholarships, only that instead of Rome the chosen centre for training became Naples. Between 1761 and 1767 João de Sousa Carvalho (1745-1798), ex-pupil of the College of Vila Viçosa and the brothers Jerónimo Francisco de Lima (1741-1822) and Brás Francisco de Lima (?-1813), pupils of the Patriarchal Seminary of Lisbon, studied in the Neapolitan Conservatory of Santo Onofre a Capuana, where their colleague was Giovanni Paisiello. On their return all joined the teaching staff of the Seminário da Patriarcal, as well as distinguishing themselves amongst a circle of Portuguese opera composers which equally reckoned with Luciano Xavier dos Santos (1734-1808), who studied in Santa Catarina de Ribamar with Giovanni Giorgi, Pedro António Avondano (1714-1782), son of an Italian violinist of the Orchestra of the Royal Chamber, and João Cordeiro da Silva (d. 1756-1763), Chapel Master of the Ajuda Palace and possibly himself an ex-scholar in Naples. In spite of the Court theatres having only presented five operas by Portuguese authors in the reign of D. José I and four in D. Maria's — amongst them *Il mondo della luna* (1765) by Pedro António Avondano, *L'Amore Industrioso* (1769), *Eumene* (1772), *Testoride Argonauta* (1780) and *Nettuno ed Egle* (1785) by João de Sousa Carvalho and *Lo spirto di contradizione* (1772) by Jerónimo Francisco de Lima — the production of these and other national composers was more prolific in the ambit of the serenata, of which three dozen scores of this genre must have been staged in the royal theatres (Brito, 1989b: 119).

The principal Neapolitan composers equally distinguished themselves on the plane of Sacred Music, in which, generally speaking, they used compositional techniques and an expressive language very similar to the Opera. David Perez for example, was the author of an extraordinary collection of concertante pieces for the Matins of the Office of the Dead edited in 1774 under the title of *Mattutini dei Morti*, and Jommelli wrote in similar style a most beautiful Requiem, both works being frequently performed here. Hearing them in 1787 in the Church of Mártires, performed by the musicians of the Portuguese Royal Chapel, William Beckford commented: «I never

heard, nor perhaps will hear again such august Music and of so great effect» (Brito, 1989a: 63).

The greatest Portuguese composer of the period also cultivated the sacred genre, creating a vast repertory in similar style, for the most varied concerted combinations of soloists and chorus with an instrumental element which could range from simple bass-continuo to complete orchestra with flutes, oboes, bassoons, trumpets, horns, trombones, percussion and strings. The presence of this repertory in multiple copies in the archives of the Cathedrals and of the principal urban churches of the whole country demonstrate its ample circulation on the national plane.

The vocal Portuguese repertory of the second half of the 18th century was not until today the object of modern edition or analytic study, in spite of some performance editions thanks to which have been staged some operas by Sousa Carvalho and Jerónimo Francisco de Lima and some scores of sacred music of the same epoch have been given in concert and in recordings. Consequently it is not possible for us to trace a stylistic profile of the body of this repertory, and much less an individual characterization of each of the principal composers represented. In generic terms, however, we can assert that in the field of Opera the traditional model of the *da capo aria* predominated, with its A-B-A structure in which the second A should correspond to an ornamented version of the first, in spite of the fact that the ornamentation is generally left to the improvisation of the interpreter. The harmonic rhythm is slow and the modulations frequently simple and predictable so that the essential of emotional expression is confided to soloistic melodic design, which in the case of Sousa Carvalho, for example, is at times of a particular inspiration. In sacred Music, fugal writing tends to be confined to choral passages especially destined to this effect, in contrast to the more or less developed elaboration of the concerted entrances of the soloists, whether these alternate with each other or join in passages of considerable extension in parallel movements of thirds or sixths. In the works of Luciano Xavier dos Santos the ornamentation of soloistic passages at times attains an extreme *coloratura* artifice, even if he seems to explore less the extreme registers of vocal range than the complexity and rapidity of the rhythms and intervals. There thus come down to us an ample range of aesthetic options, from the refinements of vocal ornamentation characteristic of the *galant style* to a profound melodic and harmonic expressivity evoking the *Empfindsamkeit* and at times seeming to

anticipate the *Sturm und Drang*, passing by some passages and works of simple and gracious nature that could evoke an almost Mozartian atmosphere, as happens with certain moments of the *Te Deum* by Sousa Carvalho.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUMENTAL GENRES

The evolution of Portuguese instrumental Music in the second half of the century is connected above all with its growing diffusion in the salons of the aristocracy and the urban upper middle class, as much in terms of amateur practice as in respect to the progressive birth of a potential audience for public concerts given by professional musicians. From the time of D. João V the Court of Lisbon had at its disposal an orchestra of the highest international level, the Royal Chamber, which in the reigns of D. José and D. Maria counted on a body of between 32 and 51 musicians, selected from among the best in Europe, and these musicians were frequently called upon to play instrumental works in the soirées of the Palace as well as participate in the orchestral component of Opera performances or the ceremonies of liturgical Music. Some of these, on the other hand, were equally available to play in the salons of high Court dignitaries or embassys as long as this did not conflict with their professional obligations in the service of the Crown. One of these, the violinist Pedro António Avondano, son of the Genoese Pietro Giorgio Avondano, who was part of the Royal Chamber in the time of Scarlatti, came to promote from 1766 the first public concerts of which there are notice in Lisbon, the so-called Assemblies of Foreign Nations, essentially destined for the British community of Lisbon, used to similar iniciatives in their country of origin since the time of Händel. In these soirées, to which occasional foreign visitors were admitted without payment but where the foreign community with permanent residence in Lisbon paid for tickets, were performed mixtures of vocal works and pieces of instrumental chamber music. For them Avondano wrote three minuets for two violins (or two flutes) and bass continuo, the so-called *Lisbon Minuets* printed in London. Another member of the family, João Baptista Avondano, also an instrumentalist of the Royal Chamber, is the author of a collection of four sonatas and two duets for two cellos, printed in Paris, and the Spanish António Rodil, flautist of

the same orchestra, composed six sonatas for flute and bass continuo and six duets for two flutes published in London; it is possible that these works all were originally destined for these concerts, which continued regularly until the end of the century (Scherpereel, 1985: 102). With only isolated exceptions, everything suggests that the Police High Command did not authorise similar public concerts for the Portuguese except from the 1790's, when they became regular and were characterised by the extreme variety of repertory performed, including chamber-music works by Classical Viennese authors. (Brito, 1989b: 177-185.)

Meanwhile, during the whole century the tradition of plucked string instruments continued, with emphasis for the Baroque guitar, on which was distinguished the famous Abbot António da Costa (1714, p. 1780), a man of profoundly critical spirit who journeyed all through Europe and caused a sensation in Italian and Austrian musical circles (id.: 139-155). Also for guitar, Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro, published in 1789 a method entitled *A new art of the guitar which teaches how to play it without master. Divided in two parts, one speculative, the other practical with prints of the positions, or natural points and accidentals; and with some Minuets and Modinhas in Music and in tablature. Useful work for all qualities of person especially those who follow the literary life and for the ladies as well.* Ten years later in 1799 António Abreu edited in Salamanca his *Method to play with perfection the five — and six — course guitar, with general rules for the left and right hands. Dealing with difficult melodies and steps which can be offered with an easy way of performing them*. The very titles of these works reveal that a generalised amateur instrumental practice was now well installed capable of supplying a market for manuals of this kind, and the fact that the *Nova Arte* of Paixão Ribeiro was printed in Coimbra by an author resident in that city suggests that this practice was not now only restricted to the great centres of Lisbon and Oporto but reached lesser urban centres.

On a level with the guitar or viola, another plucked string instrument rapidly conquered public favour, the so-called «English guitar», pear-shaped and with six pairs of strings, which was spread through various urban centres and settled here under the name of «Portuguese guitar». On it was distinguished at the end of the century, Manuel José Vidigal, and for it the future Chapel Master of Porto Cathedral, António da Silva Leite (1759-1833) had printed in 1795 a *Study of the guitar in which is expounded the easiest*

way to learn to play this instrument including a first part dedicated to performing methods and a second containing a collection of minuets, marches, counter-dances and other pieces for the instrument. The same Silva Leite published in 1792 a collection of *Six sonatas for Guitar, with ad libitum accompanyment of a violin and two horns; offered to Her Royal Highness the Princess D. Carlota Joaquina*, which provide a most interesting example of the application of a formal mould similar to the classical sonata to his uncommon instrumental combination. Once again in this epoch as well, it is the keyboard instruments which receive the best compositions by Portuguese authors which must have had an influence on the progress of instrument making. From the workshops of Manuel and Joaquim José Antunes, Matias Bostem, Henrque van Casteel, Jacinto Ferreira, Manuel do Carmo and others came a considerable number of harpsichords, clavichords and pianos (or, as they were frequently called, «harpsichords with hammers»), whose consistent characteristics permit us to speak of a Portuguese school of construction in this field. At the same time António Machado e Cerveira (1756-1828) provided a large number of Cathedrals with excellent organs which even today in many cases survive in them in variable states of conservation.

The greatest keyboard composer of the second half of the century is João de Sousa Carvalho, to whom we referred in dealing with Opera and sacred Music. In spite of some reserves as to the authenticity of some of the works in modern edition under his name, Santiago Kastner, to whom, once again is owed the study in depth of our keyboard repertory of this period, published in 1936 a magnificent sonata in G minor by this author followed by a profoundly lyrical minuet which is for certain one of the most remarkable piece of our XVIII century instrumental literature. Whilst none of the other keyboard compositions attributed to him reach the same level, all reveal a composer of solid *métier*, using without excess a virtuoso ornamentation typical of his epoch and showing in the *cantabile* phrases an inexaustable melodic inspiration (Kastner, 1941: 281-283). Contemporary with Sousa Carvalho are, among others, Fr. Manuel de Santo Elias (d. 1767), organist of the Paulist Convent of Lisbon, by whom are known only three sonatas, Francisco Xavier Baptista (+ 1797) who as well as some works in manuscript left a printed collection entitled *Dodeci Sonate Variazioni, Minuetti per Cembalo* which must have been published around 1770. In both cases, we are dealing with a brilliant and happy salon Music, made to show

off a virtuoso keyboard technique, and in general characterized by very simple harmonic progression in which the left hand tends to give an accompaniment in regular figurations of the kind known as *Alberti bass* while the right hand draws a strongly ornamented soloistic melodic line. In spite of finding in both authors curious passages which suggest the transition from traditional harpsichord writing to composition thought of in terms of the dynamic resources of the pianoforte, the repetitive and formula — based nature of these works reveals a relative exaustion of our Baroque tradition of keyboard Music and an aesthetic indefinition that only João Domingos Bontempo would later renew.

In the last place it should be mentioned that while the basso continuo was naturally an essential component of all the Baroque repertory in Portugal, Portuguese manuals of the period which teach its realisation are scarce. Among these stand out the *Rules for accompanying voices by harpsichords, or organ as well as any other instruments, reduced to a brief method, of easy understanding* (1768) by Alberto José Gomes da Silva, a small treatise of merely introductory nature, and especially the *New treatise of metric and rhythmic Music, which teaches to accompany on harpsichord, organ, or any other Instrument, in which are made regular all the Varieties of the Harmony of which the same Music is composed* (1779), by Francisco Inácio Solano, our most influential XVIII century theorist.

PART TWO

Paulo Ferreira de Castro

4.

FROM THE END OF THE ANCIEN RÉGIME TO THE ROOTS OF MODERNITY

5.

THE XX CENTURY

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE END OF THE ANCIEN RÉGIME TO THE ROOTS OF MODERNITY

The Rejected Century

Somewhat surprisingly XIX century Portuguese music has not captured the attention of historians and musicologists to the same measure as that of previous centuries to the point that in certain aspects we have to consider this period as a true *terra incognita* of research. The task of presenting a panorama of XIX century musical life in synthetic form thus has specific problems; there is an almost non-existent contact with the repertory, an almost total lack of accessible musical editions, and most of the basic documentary sources are in a preliminary stage of cataloguing (when not scattered or unidentified). For this and while the great gaps in our knowledge are not filled, there is a need for extreme caution in reaching conclusions and for being aware of the provisory nature of all the global theories on the period in question.

The reasons for the relative lack of interest shown until today for this area of our cultural heritage cannot stop us reflecting on the strict level of written musical history that there is an idealogical component of wider scope rooted in the concept of «decadence», just as this is found theorised by the most critical sectors of 19th century Portuguese thinkers, starting from the respective analysises of the process of economic, political and cultural regression of the country (in consequence first of the collapse of the luso-oriental empire from the mid-XVI century and later of Brazilian independence). In the words of Joel Serrão [1963: 784-5], «what cannot be denied is that what in terms of a decadent phase of theorization came to be called 'the perfumes of India' from now on came to orientate the course of our history. In effect it can be said that Portugal having in its expansionary phase 'changed the future of the world' (H. Pirenne), showed itself unsuited to accompany the

rhythm of modern change occuring in some countries (Holland, England, France)»; hence the conscience of a time warp between Portugal (or Spain) and Europe, which persisting and becoming more acute during the XVIII and XIX centuries, will emerge in Portuguese culture in different forms and classifications (polemics between «castiços» and «estrangeirados», sebastianism and other messianic movements, «saudosismo», traditionalism, modernism, etc.).

A very significant part of the ideological debate (in the simultaneously political and cultural sense) of the XIX and XX centuries in Portugal will lie precisely in terms of confronting the idea of decadence, accompanied by various attempts and projects of regeneration (Alexandre Herculano, Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins, Guerra Junqueiro, Teófilo Braga, Sampaio Bruno, Fernando Pessoa, António Sardinha, António Sérgio), leading to a varied evaluation of the historical past and to the selection of specific periods of this past as symbolic of a lost national glory (the Middle Ages, the 16th century or even the XVII century). Thus between nostalgia for past glories and anxiety for reform and for the present (of coming into line with the technical, scientific, industrial and cultural transformations of contemporary Europe) occured practically all the historical epoch which began, crudely, with the trauma of the Napoleonic invasions (1807), continued with the Liberal Revolution (1820), the successive political turnabouts until the installation of the new regime (1834), «Setembrismo» (1836-1840), the rise and fall of the Cabrais (1840-51), the so-called «Regeneração» (from 1851) and its extensions until the end of the Monarchy and the creation of the Republic (1910), political facts with deep implications in the social and cultural life of the country and consequently with wide repercussions in the field of musical activity. The written history of music being to a large extent an invention of the XIX century directed to the discovery and revaluation of an «ancient» patrimony, in which, in line with romantic thinking, a recovery was attempted of a more «authentic» and «profound» dimension of an obliterated national identity, and also given the undeniable absence of great creative personalities capable of polarizing a musical «regeneration» which was thought to be necessary, it is not surprising that the founders of Portuguese musicology (almost always direct heirs of the XIX century dialectics of decadence and rebirth) dedicated their greatest efforts to the study of the music of the 16th, 17th, and in part 18th centuries, not only because of their intrinsic aesthetic value, but also (or principally) because this music to some degree reflected

a supposed «golden age» of Portuguese history and culture (combining an affirmation of national identity with a «universal» projection of the same) in contrast to the inglorious insignificance to which more recent musical productions were reduced in the traditional historical vision.

One of the more lucid analysises of this problem was made by Fernando Lopes-Graça in the text of a conference given in Oporto in 1943. In focussing his thought not so much in the idea of «decadence» as on the lack of coherence in the historical evolution of Portuguese music (related to the difficulty of «being in step» with the general evolution of European music) Lopes-Graça extended even to the supposed «golden age» of the XVI and XVII centuries (the age of the polyphonists, considered especially from the 1930's as the most valuable of our musical heritage) the suspicion of anachronism and minor aesthetic value in virtue of its character of an afterword (in relation to Franco-Flemish models), thus introducing a discordant perspective on the then current image of our musical history:

> The historical *process* of Portuguese music (if there is a *process* in what does not present an organic creation), is discontinuous, full of upsets, without vital nucleuses and without truly representative figures. The only period of our musical production in which there is a certain historical continuity and which it seems to me is worthy of note is that of the polyphonists of the so-called School of Évora [...] or for all the interest of their productions, I repeat it does not seem that this is that outstanding period, that period which on its own by the freshness of its creations, suffices to give status to a musical culture and mark in the history of the art of a country a luminous moment, a state worthy of its spiritual personality and even a necessary phase in the general evolution of music [...] [Lopes-Graça, 1944: 19-20.]

Starting from a view of history to some degree evolutionary, in agreement with the «progressivism» of his ideological and aesthetic positions, Lopes-Graça introduced in the debate the modern conscience of a certain emptiness of the tradition of serious Portuguese music, apparently threatened by its cronic incapacity of gathering itself as an alive and realized cultural force (in the simultaneous sense of bringing about consistent lines of its own de-

velopment and of participating in European movements of the transformation of languages and styles. Thus, Lopes-Graça, who from the beginning saw in the debility of the country's musical institutions (on a level with a certain cultural isolation which was not translated into the development of original forms of expression) one of the principal reasons for the «backwardness» of our music, found himself in a position to make a critical revision of the perspective of XIX century music which until then was established here. Thus in an article already published in 1935 entitled «Portuguese music in the XIX century», we find him practically inverting the terms of the habitual polemic of decadence to proclaim, somewhat provocatively for the time, that:

> In spite of being systematically denigrated by the political factionalism of a section of the modern Portuguese mentality our musical XIX century is one of the most active and important, if not the most active and important, periods of the history of Portuguese music. If its activity is not the most intense, it is, without any doubt, the most fertile and of the strongest and most useful consequences [...] [Lopes-Graça, 1944: 85-7.]

Apology for reform of lay and liberal roots and a characteristic moral mistrust for opera (the most representative genre of the 18th century) join in Lopes-Graça in the sense that despite its apparent poverty in creative terms, the XIX century enriched Portuguese music both aesthetically and institutionally (Conservatory, concert societies, etc.), at the same time as a certain number of XIX century composers launched the bases of a «national» musical style, distanced from the paradigm of a superficial cosmopolitanism incarnated in the Italian opera. The invocation in the same article of a figurehead, Bomtempo (appearing equally in similar contexts in the words of Viana da Mota and Luís de Freitas Branco) thus acquires the symbolic significance of to a degree showing the way ahead for modern Portuguese musicians, at the same time drawing the attention of historians to the cultural importance of a century until then unanimously under-valued. The considerable development of Portuguese musicology since the 1930's meanwhile permitted revision and diversification of historical concepts and aesthetic positions, and it is to be supposed that a more balanced evaluation of the relative importance of the differente ages of our musical heritage is still

dependent on a desireable deepening of investigation (and especially the revaluation of the basic works of this patrimony in worthy conditions of performance). Meanwhile with respect to the XIX century it can be safely taken that, on the contrary to what was thought until recently, it is certainly not the «age of darkness» which followed the more or less brilliant period of the previous century, though it is to be equally supposed that from a qualitative point of view, the productivity exceeds creativity itself; it appears equally undeniable that music had a much more important role in XIX century cultural life than was previously admitted, which in itself justifies an interest, at the least documental, in its study. A final aspect should be taken into account; as much or more than in other epochs this study cannot be limited to the strict outlining of a culture isolated in the physical space of the country and disconnected from a wider picture; the problem of XIX century Portuguese music, while of neccessity marked by specific geographical, political, social and cultural factors is partly integrated in a group of conditioning factors including in the first place, those of the Latin nations of Southern Europe headed by Spain and Italy, followed by France and only after with countries of Germanic and Slavic languages. Equally the study of the relations of exchange with Brazil during the same period has not yet been the object of the attention devoted to it in other fields of knowledge.

The Crisis of Court Music and the Vitality of Opera

In spite of different interpretations of the facts the truth is that all observers are in general agreement in recognizing that in the history of Portuguese music, the end of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX centuries mark a clear break in terms of not only the repertory practiced in the different musical institutions but also and principally on the level of the structure of these institutions as a reflexion of the profound alterations of the social fabric of the country whether economic or political, provoked by the confrontation between liberal and conservative ideologies. The replacement on the political plane of the absolutist model by the doctrine of national sovereignty belonging to a constitutional monarchy as well as the extinction of the religious orders and the nationalization of their assets which followed the installation of the new regime had on

the musical level the obvious effect of simultaneously provoking the upset of the aesthetical and functional systems of a culture of the court and the church and drastically altering the conditions in which the musician carried out his profession. In this respect the information pertaining to the evolution of the orchestra of the Royal Chamber between 1792 (beginning of the effective reign of D. João VI) and 1834 is eloquent [Scherpereel, 1985: 34-5]: what throughout Europe had in the XVIII century been recognized as one of the leading court orchestras for the number and quality of its musicians, saw its membership dwindle inexorably (whether by not filling posts created by deaths, or by the desertion of many elements in an age of bloody political strife in the country, or whether by the emigration of some musicians to Brazil, with the departure of the Royal Family) to never again recover the splendour of former times (in spite of the later reorganization of The Royal Chamber and the interest in music shown by various monarchs of the House of Bragança, like the liberal D. Pedro IV, author of the *Hino da Carta* which was the national anthem until the advent of the Republic).

The year of 1792 with the worsening of the mental health of the Queen D. Maria I, marked the end of court operatic activity which as it happened was on a more modest scale than in the previous reign (without doubt in part for reasons of economic restriction): during the sixteen years between 1777 and 1792 there is notice of only twenty eight operatic productions (including small scale works), in contrast with the sixty four in the period, equally of sixteen years, between 1761 and 1776 [Brito, 1989a: 57]. As well as the performance of operas the musical activity in the Court of D. Maria I included the execution of serenatas (semioperatic-forms), oratorios and religious music certainly much appreciated by a very devout Queen, as well as the soirees of chamber-music: the purchase in 1780 of some scores by Haydn and Boccerini for court use [*op. cit.*: 62] could be related to this last activity which indicate a certain level of updating in musical taste (in the Library of Ajuda are also preserved scores of various non-Italian composers like J. C. Bach, Gluck, Myslivecek, Pleyel, Wagenseil and the three Milanese operas of Mozart which however were never performed [*op. cit.*: 32]).

Curiously the evidence has reached us that it was during the production of an opera in the palace of Salvaterra (*Riccardo Cor di Leone* by Grétry, an innovation in repertory until then exclusively confined to *opera buffe* and *burlette* by Guglielmi, Paisiello, Cimarosa and other Italian composers) that the Queen had one of her

strongest fits of madness, after which occasions of entertainment became extremely rare at court.

In 1807 the first invasion of Napoleonic troops commanded by Junot, provoking the hasty flight of the Royal Family to Brazil, and with it the irreversible closing of a historical cycle, gave the coup de grace to Lisbon court musical life, just as it had proceeded with the Bragança dynasty which would contribute to dynamize the process of cultural and political autonomy of that American colony: an autonomy which on a musical level resulted in the reorganization of the Royal Chapel in Rio de Janeiro (1808) where would appear Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767-1830), the composer considered the first important figure in the history of Brazilian music [Appleby, 1983: 28 e ss.].

Shortly before the last operatic show in Salvaterra, more exactly in 1790, and after a gap of around fifteen years in the lyrical activity of the Lisbon public theatres, the doors of the Theatre of the Rua dos Condes had reopened for performances of Italian opera in which, possibly as a result of the scandal provoked by the celebrated Anna Zamperini during the previous reign, came into play the ban on stage (applicable to all forms of theatrical representation including ballet) of interpreters of the female sex — a ban copiously criticized by many foreign visitors, and which came from the time of D. João V, on the level of court theatres [Brito, 1989b: 138]; with few exceptions, this restriction (which led to the generalization of «transvestites» in female roles) continued to govern Portuguese theatre life until 1799.

During the brief period of operatic activity in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes which immediately preceeded the foundation of the Teatro de São Carlos, the musical director was the composer António Leal Moreira, and the *impresario* (at least from the 1791-92 season) the Italian Francesco Antonio Lodi; the repertory concentrated on comic operas by Paisiello, Cimarosa and Gazzaniga [Brito, 1989a: 108]. Meanwhile from 1782 Marcos Portugal directed a repertory in the Teatro do Salitre principally made up from adaptions of Italian comic libretti, sung in Portuguese by Portuguese actors.

The initiative of the Chief of Police, the influential Diogo Inácio Pina Manique, wishing to endow the capital with the elegant theatre it lacked since the earthquake of 1755, led, in the last decade of the century to the foundation of the Teatro de São Carlos, which immediately became the exclusive centre of Italian lyrical repertory

and the most important theatre of the capital (opera sung in Portuguese had no more than an efemeral existence, not surviving longer than the first seasons). The construction of the new and luxurious theatre began in December 1792 and in spite of being incomplete (lack of changing-rooms, storage-space and rooms for scenery, etc.), was inaugurated on the 30th June of the following year with the opera *La ballerina amante* by Cimarosa and the «heroic-dramatic» ballet *A felicidade lusitana*, «composed» (choreographed) by Gaetano Gioia and with music by António Leal Moreira, who crossed from the Teatro da Rua dos Condes to the equivalent post in the Teatro de São Carlos where he remained until 1799 when he was succeeded by Francesco Federici (followed by Marcos Portugal and Valentino Fioravanti, in function respectively from 1800 and 1805 [*op. cit.*: 110 and 79, and Brito and Cranmer, 1990: 83]).

Constructed on the model of San Carlo of Naples by the architect José da Costa e Silva and baptised in homage to Princess D. Carlota Joaquina, São Carlos would represent, in the words of José-Augusto França [1979: 10-11], «not a court room [...] but a temple of a certain 'enlightened' civilization which would continue to exist after the disgrace of Pombal and was moreover sustained by the generation of bourgeois capitalists that the Marquis himself nourished, S. Carlos counter-balanced the other temple of royal protection that D. Maria I had raised as soon as she came to the throne: the Basílica da Estrela, consecrated in 1789, which would be the last great church of the Europe of the *ancien régime*. To the baroque style of the Estrela, following Mafra [...] the neoclassicism of S. Carlos replies in a double aesthetic and cultural situation, with its weight of social and ideological values in which can be seen the past and the future of Portuguese architecture [...]». In fact the rapid building of the Teatro de São Carlos was made possible above all thanks to the participation of a group of Lisbon financiers: Joaquim Pedro Quintela (who granted the site), Anselmo José da Cruz Sobral, Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira, António Francisco Machado, João Pereira Caldas and António José Ferreira Sola [Benevides, 1883: 19]. By decree of April 28th 1793 «the theatre was incorporated with the Casa Pia as a meanes of its subsistance under the direction and the inspection of the police headquarters» (*op. cit.*: 31-2); this in its turn handed over its running to private impresarios (the first of whom was to be Francesco Antonio Lodi — who, like Leal Moreira, moved from the Teatro da Rua dos Condes — in

partnership with Andrea Lenzi or Lence, a musician of the Royal Chamber.

With the exception of the first season in which some works in the Portuguese language were performed (see later the chapter on composers), the operatic repertory of São Carlos was almost exclusively Italian, alternating this in the public favour with the ballet (in this field the so-called «patriotic ballets» of political--military inspiration won special popularity [Sasportes, 1970: 184-92]; but as well occasionally appeared Portuguese companies of spoken drama and various other kinds of performances (including exhibitions of funambulists, etc.). During Lent oratorios were equally performed in the salon designed for the purpose and inaugurated in 1796.

The puritanical ban on women on stage had the immediate result that the first public idols of São Carlos were the Italian *castrati*: Domenico Caporalini (who began his theatre career in roles of «prima donna buffa») and, from 1798, Girolamo Crescentini, specialist in *opera seria* (until then the repertory of São Carlos had been exclusively comic), whose supremacy would only be threatened by female competition in the epoch of the famous Angelica Catalani (in Lisbon from 1801; before 1799 the liftings of the strange ban were sporadic). Like all operatic rivalries that of Crescentini and Catalani had the result of attracting to the theatre from the beginning a public in love with the vocal exploits of great singers like, as well as those already mentioned, Elisabetta Gafforini («prima donna buffa»), the tenor Domenico Mombelli, and the bass Giuseppe Naldi. Referring to the displays of Crescentini for example, Ruders describes the public's enthusiasm as follows:

> One admires, one is amazed. There are music lovers who become beyond themselves. They cannot keep quiet. They turn around, their bodies move, they touch their neighbours, raise their arms and let them fall again. Their facial muscles are in constant movement. They look at people without knowing it, they speak in starts, and when an aria is interrupted or finishes they applaud with unequalled fury. [Vieira de Carvalho, 1984: 46-7.]

With the departure of Catalani, the theatre lost much of its first splendour effected by the political agitation of the first decades of the century: its activity until around 1834 was irregular (coming

to close its doors in the Migueline period), and always marked by the difficulty of contracting Italian artists of quality. However it was before its closure that occured an important renovation of repertory with the first performances in Portugal of operas by Rossini (*L'italiana in Algeri* and *Tancredi* in 1815) [Brito and Cranmer, 1990: 19], Rossini (who came to compose his farce *Adina* which opened in 1826 expressly for Lisbon), Donizetti (*Zoraida di Granata* in 1825) and Mercadante (who worked for São Carlos between 1827 and 1828, expressly writing for the theatre his operas *Adriano in Siria* and *Gabriella di Vergy*). All these composers thus conquered in a lasting form the public's approval dethroning among others the works of Marcos Portugal who had put on the theatre numerous Italian operas by himself and directed, for the first time in Portugal, Gluck's *Orfeo* and Mozart's *La Clemenza di Tito*, respectively in 1801 and 1806. Meanwhile in Oporto the inauguration of the Teatro de São João in 1798 (by the action of the Corregedor Francisco de Almada) came to replace the old Teatro do Corpo da Guarda, and begin a new cycle of operatic activity in the capital of the North (where, in spite of less brilliant casts in relation to the Lisbon theatre, were occasionaly registered first Portuguese performances of important works like *Così fan tutte*, given, as far as can be judged, in the 1814-15 season [Cranmer, 1989: 27].

Already in the first decades of the XIX century the taste for opera was definitely installed among cultivated Lisbon townspeople, to the point one of the most illustrious representatives of a rising class of en-nobled financiers (the «barons» of liberalism), Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801-1869) 2nd Baron of Quintela and future 1st Count of Farrobo, undertook in 1820 the construction of a private theatre in his quinta of recreation at Laranjeiras (inaugurated in 1825) which became an important centre of lyrical activity in spite of being performed above all by amateurs (amongst whom the baron himself, horn-player, cellist and singer of merit who meanwhile had married a daughter of the first impresario of São Carlos). The opera performances put on there, with great luxury of decorations and wardrobes, included in a first phase operas by Mercadante (who composed for the Teatro das Laranjeiras the heroic-comic melodrama *La testa di bronzo*), Rossini, Coccia and Donizetti, and, from the mid 1830's equally works by French composers [Moreau, 1981: 247 and ss.]. The Teatro das Laranjeiras was not the only private theatre existing in the Lisbon of this period.

But the greatest figure of the age was the singer Luísa Todi (Luísa Rosa de Aguiar) born in Setúbal in 1753 and dying in Lisbon in 1833 after an extraordinary carrer which enshrined her as one of the greatest European singers of the XVIII century. Benefitting through David Perez from the inheritance of the great Neapolitan vocal school, Luísa Todi began her long series of European performances in 1777 appearing in the King's Theatre Haymarket, London, and afterwards in Paris, Geneva, Turin, Potsdam, Berlin, Vienna, S. Petersburg, Venice, Bergamo, Naples, Madrid, etc. [see an exaustive biography in Moreau, 1981: 50-239]. Luísa Todi had an outstanding role in the historical process of the evolution of European taste in creating an interpretative style based more on dramatic expression and in emotional intensity than in the virtuoso tradition of brilliant and ornamental song, thus fully belonging to the «age of sensibility» characteristic of the last decades of the XVIII century of which she came to be one of the most notable representatives. However her art had practically no repercussion in Portugal seen that at the peak of her career the already mentioned ban on actresses was in force; and if, curiously we find her in Lisbon in 1793 (the year of the inauguration of the Teatro de São Carlos in whose company she had perhaps intended to enter) it was only to participate on the 14th of May in the festivities of D. Maria Teresa, first-born of the Prince-Regent, in the Real Casa Pia and in a private performance in the house of Anselmo da Cruz Sobral. Of the multiple testimonies gathered by Mário Moreau in European newspapers of the age the following excerpt from the *Mercure de France* (18-12-1779) can serve as an example of the universal veneration of which the distinguished singer was the target:

> M. de Todi, after an absence of some months reappeared in this concert; there she sang a *rondeau* by Paisiello and a scene by Piccinni; the *rondeau* is enchanting: it was much applauded. The scene is from *Alexandre na Índia*: «Poro dunque morì», that was repeatedly requested in our concerts but had never caused so much emotion as in this one. The involvement transported, the tenderness led to tears; in all the vocal pauses the applause redoubled. It is true that never had M. de Todi put in her singing so profound a sensibility, and perhaps never had been seen so profound as accord between the soul of the singer and of the composer». [Moreau, 1981: 87.]

Public and Private Taste

As well as the opera was one of the types of music most appreciated by the Portuguese public at the end of the XVIII century and in the first decades of the XIX century religious music was, without doubt, still cultivated with a certain pomp inherited from the baroque era in the large churches of the capital (in which stood out the great festivals realized in the Igreja dos Mártires by the brotherhood of Santa Cecília in honour of their patron saint). William Beckford in the diary of his travels to Portugal (the first in 1787-8), can still note the relatively conservative character of the religious repertory practiced here at the time, based partly on works by Perez and Jommelli which were however progressively substituted by others of more modern authors (for example Mozart whose *Requiem* was sung in Lisbon for the first time in 1803 and repeated in 1816 on the death of D. Maria I [Brito and Cranmer, 1990: 26]). The predominant music of the age in Portugal (as in other Mediterranean countries) was not on a stylistic level much apart from the Italian operatic music most in vogue, a situation which throughout the XIX century was a motive for scandal for more moralizing spirits and for joy for the majority of hearers under the complacent tolerance of the ecclesiastical authorities who thus saw the churches filled after the upsets provoked by anti-clerical liberalism. During the first decades of the XIX century Portuguese churches vibrated with a fertile crop of matins, nones and masses inspired or literally clothed in Rossini and Donizetti if not the *vaudevilles* and French comic operas introduced a little later.

In the informed circles of true «connoisseurs and amateurs» was spread the taste for concert and chamber music (at this time the frontier between the two less clearly defined); recently revealed facts show that the cult of music in private or semi-private circles during the last decades of the XVIII century and the first quarter of the XIX century was much more widespread than until recently allowed. The diaries of Beckford and the Marquis of Bombelles furnish interesting testimony of this practice during the reign of D. Maria I: the first for example, himself an enthusiastic amateur and of solid musical culture, tells us how he heard António Leal Moreira at the Marquis of Penalva's house performing on the harpsichord «some delightful music» composed by him [Beckford, 1787-8: 52]. On another occasion Beckford praised the talent with which the young Marquis played the piano-forte «with infinite taste by the mere in-

tuition of genius», for he could not read music; he continues with a precious description of the musical personality of the Portuguese to which Beckford confers the dimension of a truly Lusitanian «Empfindsamkeit»:

> The Portuguese always naturally fall in modulations of a lamenting tone which go straight to my heart. Their minuets are at the same time tender and majestic. I cannot hear them without immediately beginning to glide about the room and give myself to theatrical attitudes. The same happens with D. Pedro [de Marialva] and we dance together until the Marquis is tired of playing for us. [*op. cit.*: 63.]

During his stays in Portugal, Beckford heard with pleasure music by various Portuguese composers (as well as those cited also Jerónimo Francisco de Lima who was in his private service together with a group of instrumentalists of the Royal Chamber in the palace of Ramalhão), and on various occasions mentions the performance of music by Haydn which he especially liked. The Marquis of Bombelles in the same epoch (1786-8) mentions concerts in the houses of the Marquis of Pombal, of Marialva, of Penalva and of Alorna, of the English minister or in his own embassy and in the houses of French, English and Portuguese businessmen.

With the turn of the century the tradition of academies of amateurs had a special development in bourgeois and aristocratic circles to which was owed the diffusion of the most recent repertory for chamber groups joining piano, strings and winds (the flute was apparently a favourite) and including sometimes arrangements of the symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven and other orchestral works. The chronicles of Portugal published between 1816 and 1824 by the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [re-edited in Brito and Cranmer, 1990] refer to a relatively large number of promoters of this type of domestic concert among whom seem to have stood out the businessmen Benedikt Klingelhöfer, Franz Anton Driesel (who came to promote private orchestral concerts in 1819) and a certain Deron (of respectively German, Austrian and Swedish nationalities), the violinist José Pinto Palma, the Marquises of Abrantes, of Borba and of Castelo Melhor, the Baron of Quintela and José Dias Pereira Chaves who was an outstanding protector of the musicians of the era [*op. cit.*: 23]. The frequency of public concerts was however impeded since the reign of D. Maria I by the mistrust with which

the police authorities, at a time of the spread of enlightened ideas, looked upon every kind of association: taking this into account, the foundation in 1822 of a Philharmonic Society on the initiative of João Domingos Bomtempo, acquires special significance. A composer and pianist who won fame in Paris and London, his first attempts in the sense of creating a regular series of subscription concerts (probably inspired by the example of the London Royal Philharmonic Society) seem to go back to 1814 [Vieira, 1900: I, 122]. Among the works performed in the concerts of the Society stand out «much symphonic music by Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini and other lesser classical masters then in fashion, also by Beethoven who began to be known here (like for example the 5th Symphony) [Brito and Cranmer, 1990: 25]. «Equally performed were quartets, quintets and works of (chamber) music by the same composers and by Boccherini, Hummel, Pleyel, etc.» [Vieira, 1900: I 138-9], as well as vocal pieces with orchestra or accompanied on the piano and other instruments. With the Migueline counter-revolution of 1823 the concerts were interrupted; the petition sent to the King D. João VI by Bomtempo with he aim of obtaining a licence to continue the Society's activities caused the following information from the Chief of Police:

> While it is certain that that Society is attended by persons of the greatest consideration in this Capital, there are also people who go there, like the author of the request, who do not deserve the best opinion of the Police, for this very reason they meet in the name fo Rehearsals but frequently in secret, and so as to avoid that under this title any secret Society is established, I understand that the author of the request should be persuaded that this practice must immediately cease. [Cit. in *op. cit.*: I, 135.]

Benefitting however from the protection of leading members of the aristocracy, Bomtempo could recommence his activity in 1824 offering the Police as guarantee of security that the concerts would come to take place in the «old palace» of the Duke of Cadaval (situated on a site now occupied by Rossio station). The return of D. Miguel and the proclamation of an absolutist regime in 1828 (with the subsequent persecution of liberal elements) came to definitively compromise the functioning of the Society, Bomtempo himself being obliged to seek asylum in the Russian consulate where

he apparently stayed for the whole reign of D. Miguel. After the triumph of the liberal cause Bomtempo was immediately rehabilitated, made Commander of the Order of Christ, nominated music master of D. Maria II and director of the then created Conservatory (see after). Probably absorbed by his new functions as semi-official musician of the regime the composer seems not to have returned to the organization of public concerts.

There are reasons for thinking that the vogue for Rossini's operas was a weighty factor in the poor acceptance by the music public of the so-called «Viennese classics» or of Bomtempo himself (a situation which it should not be forgotten to a greater or lesser degree Portugal shared with contemporary Spain and Italy). The taste of the majority of Portuguese seems to have been dominated, apart from the opera, by the very widespread genre of the sentimental song (in the nature the romance), for one or two voices accompanied by harpsichord, piano or guitar, which amongst us received the generic name of «modinha» (diminutiv of «moda», or song). All the foreign authors who wrote on the subject are unanimous in witnessing the immense popularity, at all social levels (including in the aristocratic salons) of this accessible genre imbued with characteristic «national» sensuality and melancoly.

«Who never heard *modinhas* sung ignores the most voluptuous and bewitching melodies that have existed since the time of the Sybarites. They are languid and interrupted measures as if our breath had failed us from excess of enchantment and the soul threatened to leave the body to join with what we most desire. Childishly and carelessly they stealthily win our soul before we have time to defend ourselves from their un-nerving influence. We think we are drinking milk and we are drinking poison. For myself, I confess I am a slave to the *modinhas* and when I remember them I cannot think of leaving Portugal» [Beckford, 1787-8: 147].

The origins of the *modinha* appear today still the subject of debate, which Rui Vieira Nery takes into account in writting:

> Lying between the *galant style* and Romanticism, opera and concert song, serious music and popular culture, European and African influences, the *modinha* defies the strict categories of traditional musicology and calls for a holistic

and intercultural approach that has only recently begun to be applied to the music of the past. [Nery, 1985: 282.]

It may be supposed that in the first phase of its evolution «the important impulses left the mother-land in the direction of the Brazilian colony and from constant coming and going resulted mutual acceptance and integration of elements of both continents» (Doderer, 1984: XIV); other authors defend the purely Brazilian origin of the genre (actually supported by Beckford who in the sequel to the previous passage calls Brazil «the cradle of the *modinhas*»). The cult of the so-called *modinha*, which tended to become the salon song par excellence in Portugal, appears to be associated in the late 18th century with the lundu or lundum, a type of song originally danced, of an explicitly Afro-brazilian inflexion, characterized by syncopated rhythms and a typically languid exoticism (containing in its voluptuous and drawn out *melodies* and at times openly licentious expression) [Freitas, 1974: 435].

It is probable that the spread of the «Brazilian» *modinha* and of the lundum received a decisive impetus with the extraordinary success obtained in Lisbon salons after 1775 by the Brazilian poet and singer Domingos Caldas Barbosa who accompanied himself on the guitar [Araújo, 1963: 28 and ss.]. Other famous cultivators of the genre at the turn of the century, were the guitarist Manuel José Vidigal (author of a most famous *modinha* titled *Cruel saudade*) and Domingos Schiopetta, theatre painter and mechanic by profession, whose «compositions» were so popular between 1820 and 1840 «that it became usual to say of anything agreeable: 'That's by *chupeta*' (corruption of the surname) [Vieira, 1900: II, 289]. Modinha and lundum probably combined in the complex of direct antecedents of the fado, the most general designation of street-song from the mid-XIX century (but whose history dominated by ethnic mythology, is still cast down by many shadows).

Lacking any predetermined formal scheme the *modinhas* appear under many names (including «romance», «aria», etc.), subordinated to a simple strophic form, to forms of strophe and refrain, binary forms, through-composed structures and even «da capo» forms, the identity of the genre rests solely in the themes of the texts usually focused on «the sadnesses of love, nostalgic yearnings, and concern for the loved person, often in mythological, allegorical or bucolic settings» [Doderer, 1984: XIII]; throughout the XIX century the influence of Italian opera on the musical style of the *modinha* is pre-

dominant to the point that many compositions appear simple operatic sub-products for domestic consumption thus losing their original character. The popularity of the *modinhas* resulted in their circulation in manuscript or printed copies from the end of the XVIII century; of these stand out those published in the *Jornal de Modinhas* launched by the editors Marchal and Milcent in 1792 (continued independently from 1795 by the latter). Composers like Marcos Portugal, António Leal Moreira, José Maurício or António da Silva Leite, among many others did not disdain to compose these kinds of pieces, as ephemeral as they were universally appreciated.

The vogue for the *modinha* was also one of the most outstanding aspects of the development of a typical salon musical culture which gave the clavichord and later the piano, for their characteristics as the «expressive» instruments par excellence, the leading role previously taken by the harpsichord (in the *Dodici Sonate* by Francisco Xavier Baptista, the only XVIII century keyboard compositions edited in Portugal — around 1770 — the idiomatic characteristics of the new instrument can already be felt in spite of the frontispiece still mentioning the harpsichord). In this context it is interesting to verify that, according to the chronicles of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, between 1809 and 1821 the number of pianofortes in Lisbon grew from around 20 to more than 500 [Brito and Cranmer, 1990: 50]. Pianofortes of the Italian model had been made in Portuguese workshops since the middle of the previous century and many «harpsichords with feathers» converted into «harpsichords with hammers» to suit more modern taste [Doderer, 1974: 445]. In parallel plucked string instruments under the somewhat indistinct names of «viola» or «guitar» tenaciously maintained the favours of a huge and sociologically differenciated public, causing the publications of various methods «without master», like the *Nova arte de viola* by Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro (for five course guitar) published in Coimbra in 1789 («useful work for all qualities of persons; especially for those who follow the literary life and for the ladies as well» as in the frontispiece), and the *Estudo de guitarra* by António da Silva Leite (Porto 1795, reedited in 1796) for a type of instrument similar to the English cittern, which, diffused by the British colony in Oporto, became adopted and «nationalized» by the whole country becoming the prototype of the «guitarra portuguesa» (pearshaped and with six courses of strings) — the future chosen instrument of the accompanists of fado. Following the Peninsular Wars the tradition of military bands spread throughout the

whole country which came to have an important role in popular musical culture until the mid-XX century and to supply in many cases good wind instrumentalists for Portuguese orchestras.

«Castiços» and «Estrangeirados»

Despite being trained in the bosom of a predominantly imported culture composers like Leal Moreira and Marcos Portugal can be considered as the last important musical representatives of the *ancien régime* in Portugal taking into account also the functions which both carried out as chapel masters. Both illustrate the brilliance of the educational traditions of the Seminário da Patriarcal (the most important institution of music teaching until 1833), where they could benefit from the teachings of the master João de Sousa Carvalho (generally considered the greatest Portuguese composer of his generation and himself in his time pensioner in Naples where he was co-disciple of Paisiello).

António Leal Moreira (1758-1819) was already in 1775 substitute assistant of his masters in the Seminário; two years later he made his official debut as composer writing a mass for the acclamation of D. Maria I and being admitted to the Irmandade de Santa Cecília: in 1787 he was nominated master of the Royal Chapel and the Patriarcal for which he composed many sacred works. He equally composed orchestral overtures as well as serenatas and Italian operas for the royal theatres and was, from 1790 and 1793, respectively master of music in the theatres of the Rua dos Condes and of São Carlos as already mentioned. In the performance at the house of Anselmo da Cruz Sobral in this last year, the great Luísa Todi interpreted the allegorical serenata *Il Natale augusto* by Leal Moreira; at São Carlos there were first performances, as well as of various Italian operas, of the serenata *Os Voluntários do Tejo*, the one act farce A *Saloia Namorada* (1793) and the comic-serious drama *A Vingança da Cigana* (1794), these last with libretti by Caldas Barbosa. There are notices of some of his operas having been equally sung in Italy [Vieira 1900: II 108-9]. After 1799 he was mainly occupied with composing religious music. The *Vingança da Cigana* (The gipsy's revenge) is the only of his works which has been put on in our day. It is a curious example of music-theatre in Portuguese, a tradition lost until at least the mid-XIX century (when

it was cultivated outside São Carlos). The opera, written in eminently simple style, but containing an elaborate final ensemble, is also an interesting document of the age for its musical-dramatic characterization of contemporary social types.

Admitted to the brotherhood of musicians in 1783, Marcos Portugal (1762-1830) had a much more cosmopolitan career than Leal Moreira. Of modest social origins he adopted the high-sounding name of Marcos António da Fonseca Portugal (his baptismal name was Marcos António da Ascensão) and began his career as maestro and composer in the Teatro do Salitre of which he was nominated director in 1785 and where he practiced a repertoire of Portuguese adaptations of Italian farces and burlettas; he also composed religious music. In 1792 benefitting from royal protection he left for Naples where contrary to his predecessors he does not seem to have studied. He began the following year, with the opera *L'eroe cinese* (to a libretto by Metastasio) opening in the Teatro della Pergola, Florence, a brilliant series of successes as a dramatic composer (under the italianized name of Portogallo) which rapidly won him a European reputation: works by him were put on in the main Italian theatres, in London, Dresden, Hamburg, Vienna, Warsaw and St. Petersburg, his opera *Non irritar le donne, ovvero il sedicente filosofo* receiving the distinction of being expressly chosen by Bonaparte in 1801 for the reopening of the Italian Theatre in Paris [Sarrautte, 1979: 2-5].

In 1800 on return to Lisbon he was nominated master of the Royal Chapel and of the Teatro de São Carlos, for which he composed new operas (including the «opere serie» *La morte di Semiramide, Fernando nel Messico* — a new version of a work written for Venice — *Merope, Il duca di Foix, Artaserse* and the comic opera *L'oro non compra amore* where he counted on the appearance of the celebrated Angelica Catalani; for the Basílica of Mafra he composed masses with four, five and six «obbligato» organs. When the court left for Brazil in 1807 Marcos Portugal stayed in Lisbon, apparently adapting well to the French occupation but ended by leaving for Rio de Janeiro in 1810 or 1811; in the New World he would be nominated royal music master and took up again his post as chapel master (in competition with the Brazilian José Maurício). In the service of the Court he dedicated himself almost exclusively to religious music (including a *Requiem Mass* for the death of D. Maria I), and even after the return of D. João VI he did not come back to Lisbon (see list of works *in* Carvalhais, 1910 and

1916). The style of Marcos Portugal belongs to the very last prolongation of the Neapolitan school, on a level with a Paisiello or a Cimarosa. Within its limits his writing is fluent and technically secure, based on a purely vocal aesthetic which the composer illustrated with indisputable mastery.

The other most important composer of the epoch is without doubt João Domingos Bomtempo (1775-1842), son of an Italian musician he was destined to fill in Portuguese music a similar role to the men of letters and the pedagogues called «estrangeirados» («outsiders») of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX centuries. Probably beginning his studies under paternal guidance he also had lessons with the masters of the Patriarcal and at 14 was admitted to the Irmandade de Santa Cecília as a singer of the Royal Chapel of Bemposta, later replacing his father as first oboe of the Royal Chamber. Unlike most of his contemporaries he does not seem to have seen the opera as the most suitable professional field for his ambitions and in 1801 left, not for Italy, in line with a till then well established tradition for Portuguese musicians, but for Paris where he fell in with a circle of emigrants sympathetic to liberal ideologies, and where he began a career as a *virtuoso* pianist in the line of Clementi, Cramer and Dussek at the same time as publishing his first works as a composer (in the house of Leduc and Pleyel). From 1804 he achieved real fame in the French capital, appearing, amongst other places, in the Salle Olympique as pianist and composer. In May 1809 the paper *Le publiciste* gave the following review of one of his concerts:

> [Bomtempo's] way of playing the piano conquered all by the agility and energy of his execution, by nobility and high style that so rarely are seen united to the same degree. Never did such light and firm fingers run over the keyboard; never was so much expression given to the adagio in an instrument which seems the least suited for it. M. Bomtempo also deserved praise as a composer. [Sarraute, 1970: 20.]

Probably as a consequence of the Napoleonic defeats in Portugal, Bomtempo was forced to abandon Paris and settled in London in 1810 where he came in contact with Clementi (in whose publishing house he had the majority of his works printed), and where he

was especially well received by the Portuguese colony and by some aristocratic British families who welcomed him as a piano teacher. In 1811 in the full excitement of the Anglo-Portuguese victory over the forces of Napoleon his cantata *Hino Lusitano* to words by the liberal poet Vicente Nolasco da Cunha was performed at a great festival promoted by the Portuguese ambassador before an audience of notables including almost the entire English Cabinet. After new successes as a pianist he returned to Lisbon in 1814 but probably dissatisfied with a poor reception went back to London in 1816 where he had published his principal teaching work, the *Elements of Music and Method of playing the pianoforte*, dedicated to the «Portuguese Nation». At the end of the same year he was again in Portugal where the mourning for D. Maria I prevented him from putting on concerts. In 1818 he went back to Paris where he was especially occupied with what is considered his masterpiece; the *Requiem in memory of Camões* (integrated in the same revivalist movement of the works of Camões which brought about the famous edition of *Os Lusíadas* by Morgado de Mateus); the *Requiem* was first performed in 1819 at a private concert in the French capital and repeated with great success in London where Bomtempo returned the same year before definitively returning to Lisbon after the proclamation of the Constitution of 1820. Of this activity in Portugal from this time (especially with the foundation of the Philharmonic Society), we have already dealt in the previous chapter.

As a composer Bomtempo is the author of a vast production of concertos, sonatas, fantasias and variations for the instrument with which he won fame, in which he combined the brilliance of a writing influenced by Clementi and a full exploration of the sonorous and expressive resources of the pianoforte. But his personality as a composer is perhaps even better revealed in his two symphonies (the first — in the modern sense — composed by a Portuguese), and in some chamber music works and in the already mentioned *Requiem* generally showing an assimilation, rare in Iberian musicians of the time, of certain aspects of the style of Haydn and Mozart [see list of works *in* Sarrautte, 1970].

Still in the second half of the XVIII century stand out as composers of instrumental music various members of the Avondano family and Frei Manuel de Santo Elias, organist of the Convento dos Paulistas in Lisbon [Sousa, 1974: 409-11], while at the turn of the century João Pedro de Almeida Mota, composer and chapel

master in the service of various Spanish cathedrals and later of the Madrid court, wrote, as well as a *Passione di Gesú Cristo*, the first string quartets known by a Portuguese author and a series of twelve *Divertimenti* for voice and pianoforte in the style of Italian «canzonette» [Carreira, 1988: 62-6]. Other important composers of the same period were José Maurício (1752-1815) chapel master and doctor of music at Coimbra University, promoter of chamber music concerts in which were performed, amongst others, works by Haydn and Mozart, and author of a *Method of Music* for University use (1806); António da Silva Leite (1759-1833), the most notable Porto-born musician of the age, author of a vast number of sacred works, operas, modinhas, guitar sonatas and theoretical works (as well as the guitar method already cited); António José do Rego (c. 1765-c.1845 ?), particularly active in the field of theatre music and author of a picturesque piece for pianoforte entitled *Battle of Buçaco*; João José Baldi (1770-1816), composer of numerous religious and patriotic works; the clarinettist José Avelino Canongia (1784-1842) author of virtuoso pieces for his instrument; and João Evangelista Pereira da Costa (c.1798-1832), pianist, organist and composer living in France from 1829, who belonged to the circle of António Feliciano de Castilho and was in many occasional works, one of the most fervent musical representatives of the liberal cause. Finally were distinguished as theoreticians Francisco Inácio Solano, Frei Domingos de S. José Varela and especially Rodrigo Ferreira da Costa, with his *Principles of Music* (1820-4), one of the rare reflections in Portugal of a speculative activity on musical questions raised by the French Encyclopedists.

The Era of Reforms and Illusions

Writing in 1816, the anonymous chronicler of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* attributes the lack of propensity of the Portuguese for «serious» music «[to] their nature, [to] their habits and [to] their almost total lack of a training in this art» [Brito and Cranmer, 1990: 38]. In truth the only teaching establishment for the training of professional musicians was, still in the first decades of the 19th century, the old Seminário da Patriarcal founded by D. João V which still kept its original function of preparing musicians for liturgical service (classes of orchestral instruments were only introduced in

1824 [Vieira, 1900: I, 200]). Referring to this school, Adrien Balbi, in his *Essai statistique* (1822), informs that:

> Five masters of music taught there an indeterminate number of singing pupils, instrumental music and composition. From 1800 lessons were given there to around fifteen pupils a year [...] The teaching method is quite good in spite of being too distant from modern taste. [Balbi, 1822: II, 74.]

Accompanying the decadence of the other musical institutions of absolutism, it is to be understood that the obsolete Seminário (target of reformist intentions since 1821) became extinct with the advent of the liberal regime. By decree of December 28th of 1833, was created a Class of Music in the Casa Pia for the instruction of the respective pupils which took over the instrumental heritage of the Seminário and in its turn became the nucleus of the Conservatory of Music instituted by a new decree of May 5th 1835. Among the teaching areas were included; preparation and rudiments, brass instruments, reed instruments, bowed instruments, orchestra, singing, piano and composition; the first director was João Domingos Bomtempo.

On receiving in the sequence of the September Revolution the duty of organizing the national theatre Almeida Garrett promoted the foundation of a General Conservatory of Dramatic Art which included three schools: drama per se or of declamation, of music, and of «dance, mime and special gymnastics»: the Conservatory of Music of the Casa Pia would be naturally incorporated in the new establishment (1836) and immediately in the following year installed in the building of the extinct Convento dos Caetanos where it stayed until our time. Garrett would continue involved in the structuring of the Conservatory until 1841, date in which by force of the political changes which marked the liquidation of Setembrismo, he came to be relieved of the post of General Inspector of Theatres. His distancing and the death of Bomtempo in 1842 must have contributed to a certain early downturn of the institution (on the history of the Conservatory, called Royal Conservatory of Lisbon from 1840 [see Ribeiro, 1876: VI, 386-91 and 392-424, and Lambertini, 1914: 2439-42]).

In the mid 1830's the main lines and structures essential to the musical activity of the country were thus defined in the manner they continued until the end of the century: however in consequence of

the contradictions and insufficiencies of the reformist project of Setembrism it can be said that the dismantling of the musical institutions of the ancien regime was not followed by the creation of an efficient institutional model to accompany musical life in the Europe of the other side of the Pyrenees [Vieira de Carvalho, 1984: 99 and ss.].

Reopened in 1834 (year of the first performance here of *Il pirata* the first opera of Bellini to be put on here) and practically untouched by the theatrical reform of Garrett (who began the foundation of the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II in 1846 principally destined for spoken theatre), the São Carlos Theatre maintained its status of «Italian theatre», privileged scene of the bourgeois world and altar of the cult of the romantic *bel canto* frequently attended by the King D. Fernando, great opera lover and protector of the arts, whosep presence conferred a special lustre. The state control of theatrical activity, the duty of the chief of Police, passed in 1836 to the area of a General Inspection expressly created for the purpose in agreement with the idea that it was the duty of the State to guarantee the functioning of the theatres as a factor of public instruction; whether indirectly by means of lotteries (practiced since its beginning) or directly, the Teatro de São Carlos became regularily subsidized [Benevides, 1883: 53, 95, 127 and ss.], without any substantial alterations in its cultural role (in contrast to other European countries, Portugal did not have a «national opera» during the XIX century). In 1854 the theatre formally became the property of the State [*Op. cit.:* 28-9].

The inexistence of a national lyric theatre made extremely difficult the development of autonomous traditions in this field with obvious reflections on the operatic production of XIX century Portuguese composers which until the end of the century were almost completely blocked by the monopoly of Italian companies. Meanwhile «lighter» forms of music theatre entertained a vast public in the theatres of the Rua dos Condes and Salitre (from 1858 called the «Varieties»), to which were added in Lisbon new houses like the Teatro do Ginásio (1846), the Teatro D. Fernando (1849), the Teatro do Príncipe Real (afterwards Apolo) (1865) and the Teatro da Trindade (1867); in Oporto, the Teatro Baquet (1858) [Sousa Bastos, 1898: 671-8 and 692-3, and Proença (ed.), 1924]. Two figures stand out for their reforms in mid-century: the sponsor Conde de Farrobo, who we have already seen in the founding of his private theatre and João Alberto Rodrigues da Costa (1798-1870), member of various Lisbon orchestras, whose name is linked with the restruc-

turing of the most varied musical institutions of the capital. Ernesto Vieira [1900: I, 328] sums up this activity:

> He reorganized the brotherhood of Santa Cecília, founded the Philharmonic Montepio (a mutual aid society for musicians begun in 1834), inspired the creation of the Academia Melpomenense, caused, thanks to his influences in the palace, the organization of the orchestra of the Royal Chamber and the Royal Chapel, put pressure that the Cathedral should also have an effective orchestra which it had not previously had, organized the orchestras of all the Lisbon Theatres, made printed regulations for these orchestras, created an economic fund annexed to the Montepio, had the headquarters of the brotherhood of Santa Cecília restored with a certain grandeur, gave new splendour to the festivals of this brotherhood and in sum made the most admirable efforts that musicians should prosper and be respected.

The defence of musicians' professional interests was strengthened by the so-called Associação Música de 24 de Junho which had previously functioned secretly under the guise of a masonic lodge [*Op. cit.*: I, 339] and whose legal bases were also set up by Rodrigues da Costa in 1834; in the definitive statutes of this association of a corporative character whose principal function was the negotiation of musician's contracts with theatre impresarios can be seen the intention of «giving the pupils of the Conservatório Real de Lisboa a reasonable future», and «to consider the music school of the same Conservatory as the school of the Association» — an intention never put into practice [idem: I, 344]. From 1846 was instituted the Academia Meloponense later called the Royal Academy of Music Teachers and in 1853 placed under the official protection of the King D. Fernando — which functioned as a concert society until 1861 where amongst other works were heard symphonic works of Beethoven and of the most important contemporary Portuguese composers.

A central personality in the Portuguese musical life of the period as already mentioned was the Count of Farrobo. From 1833 he pursued family musical traditions interrupted by political strife, his name is connected with the direction of two academies of amateurs, the Philharmonic Academy and the Philharmonic Assembly (both founded in 1838 [Moreau, 1981: 257]), which came to perform complete operas. Also in 1838 he became director of the Teatro de São Carlos:

during the short period lasting until the end of 1840 he summoned to this theatre Italian masters like Angelo Frondoni and Pietro Antonio Coppola and using part of his enormous personal fortune, contributed to the appearance in São Carlos of works as important as Mozart's *Don Giovanni, Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti and *Robert le Diable* by Meyerbeer, with companies of the first order and with great splendour of scenery and wardrobes which became famous in the history of the theatre (also *La Sylphide*, key work of romantic ballet which was an almost total novelty in Portugal and was by the way poorly received [Sasportes, 1970: 199-201]).

At about the same time Farrobo also directed the Teatro da Rua dos Condes (converted into a «French theatre» with the francophile fashion produced by Liberalism and where, since 1835, the actor-impresario Émile Doux developed the taste for romantic theatre). On this stage he promoted the spread of a French repertory of comic opera and *vaudeville* (works by Auber, Hérold and others in Portuguese versions as well as *The Barber of Sevilhe* by Rossini) opening the way for the operettas of Offenbach which from 1868 were received with huge success [Vieira de Carvalho, 1984: 128 and ss.].

Lastly in 1848 the Count of Farrobo was nominated General Inspector of Theatres and consequently director of the Conservatory to which he tried to give a little of the brilliance normally associated with his iniciatives and where he made an effort to endow the teaching institution with a concert hall which however never came to be constructed (only later in 1892 did the Conservatory acquire one [Lambertini, 1914: 2440]): also a «project of improvements» for the Conservatory presented by the Polish pianist Anton Kontski in 1849 who insisted on the need to organize a society of public concerts for pupils and professors, failed despite the Count's support [Vieira, 1900: II, 6-8]. Ruined by a lost judicial case Farrobo ended his days plunged in deep misanthropy.

Meanwhile the new associative fervour and the developed taste for music in the middle classes began to bear fruit. In Oporto, the bourgeois city par excellence and to a degree standard-bearer of the «Regeneration» and of Fontismo, a Philharmonic Society was founded in 1852 called «Portuense» on the impulse of a local musician, Francisco Eduardo da Costa. From 1865 the Crystal Palace, recently built after the London building of the same name to shelter the first international industrial exhibition held in the country, equally served for parties and popular concerts which did not lack an imposing organ of English manufacture (inaugurated by the organist

Charles Widor), a symbolic coronation of the new temple of Progress: the following year under the direction of the Italian Carlo Dubini an Academy was intalled in the same enclosure for the popular teaching of choral singing and of various instruments. Already in 1863 this musician was connected with the revitalizing of the popular and night school of singing begun by the Oporto municipality in the middle of the previous decade, without fees and «free for all classes from the age of eight, needing only a certificate of good conduct and proof of reading and counting ability» [Vieira, 1900: I, 388]; after the closure of the Crystal Palace in 1868, Dubini would equally participate in the creation of the Academia de Música do Porto, this with a more professional orientation.

With the violinists Francisco Pereira da Costa, Augusto Marques Pinto and Nicolau Medina Ribas, the cellists César and Joaquim Casella and the pianists Miguel Ângelo Pereira (also as we will see a composer) and Alfredo Napoleão (brother of the celebrated Artur Napoleão to whom we also later refer), Oporto had an epoch of considerable musical flourishing, especially in the area of chamber music, with the formation in 1874 of a Society of Quartets. At the same time the best of Oporto society enjoyed in the Teatro de São João (equally state-sponsored though on a much smaller scale than São Carlos [Cymbron, 1990: 22 and ss.]) the taste of Italian opera and romantic *bel canto*, as an indispensable sign of «civilization» (of which there are various interesting echos in the writings of Camilo Castelo Branco).

Under the joint influence of Italian *melodramma* and of the «lighter» comic repertory, the musical taste of the bourgeois can be thought of as more or less stabilized around the middle of the century whether in Oporto or Lisbon, nourished by the progress of musical publishing (the firms of Canongia, Neuparth, Sassetti *et.al.*) and is reflected on the domestic level in the innumerable arrangements, fantasias and *potpourris* for piano two or four hands based on the most popular lyrical excerpts (of which for example a musician like Emílio Lami made his speciality). In parallel, was developed the taste of the virtuoso piece for piano or other instrument and in various guises the sentimental romance for one or two voices continued popular with accompaniment of piano or guitar.

From the middle of the century visits of renowned foreign concert artists equally became slightly more frequent, artists like Franz Liszt (1845) — who appears to have used some popular Portuguese themes in his concert fantasia *über spanische Weisen* [Batalha Reis,

1945: 54] — and Sigismond Thalberg (1856). In March 1863 the German pianist Ernst Meumann, living in Portugal since 1852 (Vieira, 1900: II, 84-5) joined with the violinist Gleichauff, the cellist Guilherme Cossoul and others for chamber-music sessions in the Salon of the Teatro D. Maria under the protection of the King D. Fernando «the first of their kind that there had been here» in the words of Ernesto Vieira. In them were performed works by Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Meumann himself; his example must have inspired the pianist and composer João Guilherme Daddi to promote an identical session on May 10th of the same year with the participation of some of the best instrumentalists of the age in works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Weber. Daddi was also the animator of the Sociedade de Concertos Clássicos in 1874 and the Sociedade de Concertos de Lisboa a year later preceeding other similar organizations like the Sociedade de Quartetos of the brothers Eduardo and Victor Wagner and of the pianist José Vieira (1876).

The cult of symphonic music, maintained until 1861 by the Academia Real dos Professores de Música (former Melpomenense), was taken up again by the Concertos Populares organized by Guilherme Cossoul and Augusto Neuparth in the Casino Lisbonense between 1860 and 1862 (in whose programs, alongside favourite pages of Beethoven, Berlioz, Weber, Mendelssohn and even Wagner, prominently figure *pot-pourris* from operas and similar pieces), but only in 1879, partly as a result of misunderstandings between the firm of the Teatro de São Carlos and the association of professional musicians, were instituted on the initiative of the association itself, series of Concertos Clássicos by the «Orquestra 24 de Junho», directed by illustrious foreign maestros like Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Édouard Colonne, Dalmau, Bretón and Rudorff which were exceptionally well received by the public until 1888 (after the curious experience of the «Concertos Vienenses» of Josephina Amann and the concerts in the Circus of Price, under the baton of Ludwig von Brenner [Vieira, 1990: I, 27-8, 91-5 and 345-6].

Romanticism and Nationalist Aspiration

The reception of European musical Romanticism as we have seen occurred in Portugal essentially through the Italian *melodramma* of late Rossini, of Donizetti, Bellini and Verdi (spread from 1843 with *Nabucco*), Gounod's *Faust* (first-performed at São Carlos in

1865) and the *grand opera* of Meyerbeer (*Le prophète* and *Les Huguenots* respectively in 1850 and 1854; *L'Africaine*, which put Vasco da Gama on stage, in 1869) [see a resumé of the history of the theatre throughout the XIX century in Lambertini, 1914: 2447-56]. On the contrary the cult of Germanic music remained in embryonic state and with very few reflections on the collective musical conscience until the end of the century: in 1883 the historian of São Carlos, Francisco da Fonseca Benevides could still write:

> The taste for good music has developed [...] despite and notwithstanding the indifference of public authority for the cult of the fine arts, and the inept opposition and scant knowledge of classical music of the main part of Portuguese teachers. The sacred fire of the worship of the sublime compositions of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Meldelssohn, etc. has been kept alive in Portugal by a small nucleus of amateurs, good players, who with love and intelligence have given life in this little corner of Europe to the inspired outpourings of the great German masters. [Benevides, 1883: 415.]

The elaboration of a metaphysic of instrumental music as in Hoffmann, Tieck or Wackenroder belongs to values almost totally foreign to Portuguese literature until the epoch of the renovation of cultural references and mentalities symbolically begun with the so-called «Coimbra Question» (1865-66) and the «Casino Conferences» (1871). It would be authors like Antero de Quental and Eça de Queirós, in his first period (in whose works occurs the transition from the last prolongation of Romanticism to positivism and naturalism) who were the first to try, in a by no means systematic form, a theoretical approximation to the question of «absolute music»:

> Music, only this fairy could find the language of pure spirits. Its two most salient features are made to entirely reproduce those two great expressions, courageous uncertainty and morbid melancholy. These two characteristics are on the one hand the vague, the unlimited liberty which without imitating any determined form of nature but only an ideal relation, can thus express itself in numberless senses, arise, descend, oscillate between a thousand feelings and satisfy them all. No expression can better tell the fluid state the uncertainty of thought of modern beliefs, the flood of ideas,

> of uncontrolled, but vague desires which disturb these ambitious hearts — on the other hand the extraordinary exhaltation of its cries, the contrast between melody and weeping, a harmony made of sighs in the measure to which it returns and repeats, as come and go the memories of a yearning heart. All this agrees and develops with a tremendous force the secret ills of the soul, the sadness, the prolonged meditations, the melancholy. [Quental, 1866: v. 1895: 25-27.]

However, such aesthetic ideology (given the absence of a strong speculative tradition in this field) does not seem to have had a marked influence either on the main taste of the public or on the practice of Portuguese musicians. Of the various components of the romantic imagination our composers seem to have clearly given pride of place to sentimentalism and heroism (generally associated with patriotic fervour) to the detriment of the fantastic and the legendary (so following, in this aspect as well, the example of Italian operatic culture).

The problem of the creation of a truly national music, common to all the romantics, is a part of the work of XIX century Portuguese composers, while it cannot be said to have produced works of unquestionable aesthetic worth. The question of the recovery of old national traditions still «preserved» in popular music now arises implicitly or explicitly in various authors of our literary romanticism like Garrett (collector of popular poetry in the *Romanceiro e Cancioneiro Geral* whose first volume was published in 1843). It gave rise to the first printed collections of popular music (like the *Album de músicas nacionais portuguesas* by João António Ribas in 1857). In the *Presbitério da Montanha*, António Feliciano de Castilho writes:

> With the poetry of the mountain mention should also be made of its music. This is almost all old, in most cases we can say very old and heeps pure and extreme a primitive flavour. It matches the language, the clothing and the customs; it would be an excellent oracle for the consultation of modern composers of nationalist operas. Thus they would be seasoned for our ears which, in spite of being used for ages to alien melodies of more weight still adjust and shape themselves to the simple, felt melodies of our creation [...] Let them Rossinize Bellinize and Donizettize when they wish, make soft and cheap melodies for these comedies and farces

> in which people of your blood and our names speak. But once in a while [...] let us hear in Portuguese voices the things which remind us of the songs of our nurses, songs that after being forgotten in the memory remain in the heart with enough life to reappear on the first sign. [Castilho 1846: v. 1905: 74-5.]

Throughout the XIX century there are no lack of operas on national themes by Portuguese (and foreign) composers or more specifically ones based on works of Portuguese romantic literature. However, with the lack of adequate theatrical structures, the majority of these works were composed in Italian and performed (at times with an ill will) by the Italian lyric companies of São Carlos and of São João (an isolated exception is the one act lyric drama *Os Infantes de Ceuta* with music by António Luís Miró to a libretto in Portuguese by Alexandre Herculano, which was first performed in the Academia Filarmónica in 1844). Among the notable examples of this current are included, as well as various «Inês de Castro» (a theme of rich dramatic traditions but of dubious «national» relevance), *Beatrice di Portogalo* and *L'arco di Sant'Anna* by Francisco de Sá Noronha (1820-1881) first performed in 1863 and 1867 (and symptomatically based on works bt Garrett) and *Eurico, ou o Presbítero de Carteia*, by Miguel Ângelo Pereira (1843-1901) based on Alexandre Herculano (first performed in 1870). Both composers came from the North of the Country, both emigrated very early to Brazil where they must have been influenced by that country's nationalist musical movement, crowned by the creation of an Imperial Academy of Music and National Opera in 1857; it is equally significant that on their return to Portugal both won respect as composers from the Oporto public, possibly more receptive to nationalist clains than that of São Carlos (the mentioned operas of Sá Noronha were created with noisy success in São João and *Eurico*, coldly received in Lisbon, triumphed equally in Oporto in 1874). Referring to the first performance of the second opera of Sá Noronha in Lisbon an observer commentated:

> Let us forget for a moment that Noronha is Portuguese and clearly see in the admirable melody a great musical talent. It is a pity to say these things but sadly, especially here in Lisbon, it is still indispensable to speak thus. The national label in works of art and industry will continue to be for

some time a dangerous recommendation. [Andrade Ferreira, 1872: 262-3.]

Musically Noronha's style is not distinct from the normal Italian one of the period with an obvious influence of the Verdian model [Cymbron, 1990: 95 and ss.]; which did not prevent the same critic from considering «his ingenuity as a composer [...] lightly touched with that sweet and meditative melancholy which gives so special a stamp to the genius of peninsular poetry» [*Op. cit.*: 268]. As well as the operas mentioned Noronha (who died in Rio de Janeiro) also composed many comic operas, *vaudevilles* and various virtuoso pieces for piano and violin (as a violinist he made successful tours in the United States, South America and England in the first part of his career). For his part Miguel Ângelo Pereira was a much feted pianist in Portugal and Brazil and among other works left two unpublished operas, a cantata *Luís de Camões*, the symphony *Adamastor*, chamber music, pieces for his instrument, etc.

It was in the popular genre of comic opera that XIX century Portuguese composers were most productive with a more or less nationalist inspiration. The example appears to have been given in 1844 at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes by the Italian Frondoni (author among others of the *Hino da Maria da Fonte*) with the farce *O beijo*, to a text by Silva Leal, «a most happy attempt to give the music of popular theatre a national stamp» [Vieira, 1900: I, 434] which had enormous public success later renewed with *O caçador* and others. In 1845 after directing for some time the repertory of comic operas in the same theatre, João Guilherme Daddi opened, at the Teatro das Laranjeiras, his own comic opera *O salteador* which was followed, always in the Count of Farrabo's theatre, by *Um passeio pela Europa* (dramatic-lyrical extravaganza) and *L'organiste* (in French) respectively in 1851 and 1861. António Luís Miró, of Spanish origin, settled in Portugal and equally protected by the Count of Farrobo, put on in 1848 at the Teatro do Ginásio, *A Marquesa*, followed shortly after by *O Conselho das dez* and the following year by *A velhice namorada*, this last, of highly popular character, had great success and was repeated in various seasons until 1857 [Vieira, 1900: II, 93-4].

But the repertory of Portuguese comic opera came to be dominated by the figure of Joaquim Casimiro Júnior (1808-1862), a facile composer with great talent for improvisation who dedicated a significant part of his extensive production to light music. In 1845,

under the influence of the popular *Beijo* by Frondoni, he composed the farce *Um par de luvas* for the birthday party of D. Fernando which took place in the still unfinished Teatro D. Maria; in the Ginásio, D. Fernando, Condes and Variedades theatres he pursued a career filled with popular successes (*Um ensaio da Norma*, *A batalha de Montereau*, *Ópio e champanhe*, *A filha do ar*, *A lotaria do diabo*, etc.) which mixed comic operas, farces, *vaudevilles*, musical comedies and some of the first examples of the Portuguese revue theatre (a genre appearing in the early 1850's). The composer, whom posterity gave the reputation of a disorderly bohemian of genius (or a mediocre music hack, depending on opinions), was especially proud of the national character of his music theatre creations (in collaboration with Garrett, Silva Leal, Mendes Leal, Paulo Midosi, Costa Cascais, Júlio César Machado); in his autobiography of 1860 he points out with pertinent emphasis:

> In all my compositions I kept away from the centre to which all my predecessors and contemporaries converged. The Portuguese couplet is my son, nobody had written it before me [...] [*In* Vieira, 1900: I, 242.]

Convinced Miguelist and Chapel Master of Lisbon Cathedral, Casimiro (who was also a pupil of one of the last masters of the Seminário Patriarcal, Frei José Marques) also left a large body of religious works some of which were sung for a long time in Portuguese churches (*Matinas da Conceição, Missa da Arruda, Ofícios* of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week, a *Credo* «a cappella» a *Stabat Mater*, etc.), which are the result of a curious amalgam of the remains of the polyphonic tradition and the melodramatic taste of an imitator of Donizetti and Verdi.

Francisco Norberto dos Santos Pinto (1815-1860) also composed religious music but it was as a composer of music for plays and for a great number of ballets for the Teatro São Carlos (whose scores were later taken by foreign choreographers to other countries) that he won particular fame. He also left more than thirty orchestral overtures (of which the eighth is dedicated to Liszt), solos and concert pieces for various instruments, works for voice and piano, etc. From 1857 he was the maestro director at São Carlos.

Other composers deserving mention in the period under consideration were Manuel Inocêncio Liberato dos Santos (1805-1887), master of the Royal Chapel and teacher of the Princes, composer

of operas (*Inès di Castro* and *L'assedio di Diu*) and religious music; the Oporto composer José Ernesto de Almeida (1807-1869) composer of piano sonatas with *ad libitum* accompaniment for violin and cello, and a *Sinfonia a grande orquestra* dedicated to the Oporto Philharmonic Society; Francisco Xavier Migoni (1811-1861), pianist, successor of Bomtempo as director of the Conservatory and from 1843 maestro of the Teatro de São Carlos where he put on in 1852 and 1854 the operas *Sampiero* and *Mocanna*; the already mentioned João Guilherme Daddi (1813-1887), also a pianist of merit (who had the distinction of playing with Liszt in a public concert of 1845), author in addition to the Italian operas and comic operas mentioned above, of cantatas and other vocal pieces, works for piano and an *Elegy* for orchestra in memory of Meyerbeer; Eugénio Monteiro de Almeida (1826-1898), harmony professor at the Conservatory, translator of the treatises of Reicha, composer of religious music and for many years director of the orchestra of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, for which he wrote much theatre music; Guilherme Cossoul (1828-1880), illustrious cellist, great animator of Lisbon musical life, impresario of São Carlos between 1864 and 1873 and author of orchestral overtures, comic operas, masses, fantasias for cello, etc.; Carlos Bramão (1835-1874), considered the follower of Casimiro in musical theatre; the Oporto composers António Canedo (1838-1899), José Cândido (1839-1895), Francisco Alves Rente (1851-1891); and also Francisco Alvarenga (1844-1883) who in many works for the light theatre aspired to the title of «the Portuguese Offenbach», and had considerable success in Brazil. Established in Oporto in 1858 the Polish singing teacher Gustavo Romanoff Salvini published in 1865 a curious *Romanceiro musical português* with music by himself to poems of Garrett, Soares de Passos and others, an interesting attempt at launching the bases of a vocal art in the Portuguese language as put forward in the curious prologue:

> In Portugal we shall sing in the Italian manner to please ourselves and we shall escape the just censure of being with the turks the only nations in Europe (in Portugal there is no national lyric theatre) who despise their language to translate in harmonious accents the raptures of the soul and raise it upon the wings of the voice to the ideal which is the love of the mysterious heights of infinity. [Salvini, 1865: 3.]

As instrumentalists in addition to those already mentioned stand out the pianists Eugénio Mazoni (pupil of Marmontel in Paris), the Viscount de Oliveira Duarte, António Soller (also composer of pieces for his instrument) and above all Artur Napoleão (1843-1925), born in Oporto and established in Rio de Janeiro since 1868, who had advice from Liszt and developed a brilliant career as a concert artist (equally leaving a vast body of compositions); the violinists Caetano Jordani, Vincenzo Tito Mazoni, Ângelo Carrero and António Narciso Pitta, the cellists João Jordani (also a composer), Cossoul and José Augusto Sérgio da Silva, the flautists José Gazul Júnior and António José Croner, the clarinettist Rafael Croner (brother of the flautist), and the bassoonist Augusto Neuparth who also introduced the saxophone to Portugal.

CHAPTER V

THE XX CENTURY

«Common Sense and Good Taste»

The years between 1870 and the end of the century marked, in various aspects of Portuguese life, a period of opening to the outside, made possible by the progress of communications: in the 1860's Portugal was linked by railway to the rest of Europe while internally there developed a network of telegraphs and transports, basic conditions of a «progress» which could not have failed to have consequences on the level of artistic activity. On the intellectual plane the renovating impetus came from the so-called Generation of 70; in the words of a historian, its members were «the Portuguese exponents of an European, modern, airy liberalism, struggling to drag the Country from an industrial, commercial and political underdevelopment and project it in this new society which was based on the industrial revolution, bourgeois supremacy and the parliamentary regime [...]. With respect to foreign writers the Generation of 1870 was particularly receptive to the French writers Renan (biblical crtiticism), Michelet ('germanism'), Vitor Hugo (struggle for liberty, progress) and Balzac, who in their turn transmitted and diffused other influences of German and English stamp» (Oliveira Marques, 1986: 138). With the expectations of a «national revival» frustrated with the episode of the English Ultimatum (1890), disbelief in the political system grew more intense as did the spread of socialist and republican ideas which led to the Revolt of January 31st in Oporto (1891), to the Regicide (1908) and finally to the implantation of the Republic (1910).

With the circulation of people and ideas the Portuguese conscience of «backwardness» grew in relation to the rest of the «civilised» world («this is horrible when seen from outside», says Carlos da Maia in *Os Maias* by Eça de Queirós), and, more than ever, Paris, London and Berlin became the essential references of a certain

anxiety for cosmopolitan refinement of manners and of culture, well dealt with in the best literature of the time; to the predominantly positivist intellectual climate would also be connected the beginnings of historical and ethnological investigation in the field of Portuguese music with the works of Joaquim de Vasconcelos, Sousa Viterbo, Ernesto Vieira, Miguel Ângelo Lambertini and António Arroyo (not forgetting ethnological contributions by Teófilo Braga and Leite de Vasconcelos). Also on the level of specialized musical printing appeared periodicals of quality like *Amphion* (1884), edited by the house of Neuparth, and *A arte musical* (1899),directed by Miguel Ângelo Lambertini.

The evolution of musical life in the two main cities of the country ilustrate well the social and ideological mutations of the «fin de siècle». In Oporto the violinist, teacher and composer Bernardo Valentim Moreira de Sá (1853-1924), a disciple in Berlin of the celebrated Joachim and fervent Wagnerite came to have the most important role as the organiser of various musical societies. Already taking part in the earlier mentioned Society of Quartets, in 1881 he founded the Orpheon Portuense whose multiple activity of choral symphonic and chamber concerts widely overtook the role suggested by its title; in 1883 he formed a Society of Chamber Music, and, the following year a Quartet known as the Quarteto Moreira de Sá, which came to include the noted cellist Guilhermina Suggia (1878-1950) then at the beginning of a career which would soon become international; from 1900 Moreira de Sá conducted the symphonic concerts of the Associação Musical de Concertos Populares and from 1906 those of the Associação de Classe Musical dos Professores de Instrumentos de Arco both put on in the Teatro Águia de Ouro. He made a decisive contribution to the creation of the Conservatório Municipal de Música do Porto in 1917 [Lacerda, 1917: 78-84], whose plan of studies came to serve as a model for the reform of the Conservatório Nacional (1919). In the words of Lopes-Graça, «it was to his tireless activity and his enterprising spirit, gifts that went with an encyclopedic culture and an unshakeable integrity of character, that Oporto owed the period that was without doubt the most brilliant in its musical history, thanks to a series of iniciatives which gave the lead to the northern capital as the centre of the culture of the art of sounds in Portugal» [Borba and Lopes-Graça, 1958: 257-8]. In 1910 the pianist Raimundo de Macedo (1880-1931) returning from the Leipzig Conservatory where he had studied also created in Oporto a Sociedade de Concertos Sinfónicos.

In Lisbon the activity of the Real Academia de Amadores de Música would also be a determining factor of Portuguese musical life. Founded in 1884 by a group of distinguished musicians to which D. Luís, its honorary president, gave the title «Real» (Royal), it «had the purpose of spreading the taste for good music by means of regular courses, symphonic concerts, conferences, etc.» [Borba and Lopes-Graça, 1956: 9], and gave birth to an orchestra first conducted by Filipe Duarte and from 1887 by the German violinist and maestro Vítor Hussla. The teaching activity of the Academy, which rapidly became a kind of parallel Conservatory, was linked to many of the best known names in Portuguese music like the pianist Alexandre Rey Colaço (see a summary of the Academy's history in Borba and Lopes-Graça). To Rey Colaço (trained in Madrid, Paris and Berlin and living in Portugal from 1887) and Vítor Hussla among others is owed the great impulse given to the cultivation for chamber music in the 80's and 90's, taken up again from 1899 by the Sociedade de Música de Câmara of Miguel Ângelo Lambertini (the first to institute a composition competition for these types of ensembles which in 1908 revealed the young Luís de Freitas Branco).

Already in the beginning of the XX century the concert societies multiplied and there were various attempts to create regular series of symphonic concerts in a movement inspired by French and German examples and partly corresponding to the vacuum in the capital's musical life following the closure of the Teatro de São Carlos after the inauguration of the Republic. Thus arose the Sociedade de Concertos de Lisboa (1917) founded by Viana da Mota, Lambertini, Luís de Freitas Branco and others for the spreading of chamber and symphonic music and the Sociedade Nacional de Música de Câmara (1919), under the artistic direction of the violinist Júlio Cardona which despite its name played an important part in the spread of choral symphonic music (conducted by Fernando Cabral).

From 1901, equally thanks to the iniciative of Lambertini, Lisbon began to be visited by some of the most important symphony orchestras like the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Arthur Nikisch (1901) and Richard Strauss (1908), the Colonne Orchestra, directed by Colonne himself (1903), the Orchestra Lamoureux, directed by Camille Chevillard (1905) and the Munich Philharmonic conducted by Joseph Lasalle (1910): in the programs of all these orchestras pride of place was given to the most popular excerpts from Wagnerian music dramas as well as little known works of the symphonic

repertory from Bach to Strauss and Debussy [Vieira de Carvalho 1984: 325]. The critic Adriano Merêa described the historic performance of the Berlin Philharmonic in 1901 as follows:

> Imposing itself at once on the hall after the superior interpretation of *Leonora* by Beethoven, as it performed each number of a well organised program the philharmonic orchestra won the admiration of the public more and more so that at the end this admiration, always expressed with warm applause, ended up with the proportions of an insane enthusiasm. This in the São Carlos Theatre made by artist musicians whose vocal chords were not their means of expression seems to us that it should be considered a sensational event. [Merêa, 1943: I.]

Meanwhile the same Lambertini tried to create a Grande Orquestra Portuguesa (1906) which he didn't manage. The first Lisbon orchestras which functioned in a more or less stable manner would be created after the implantation of the Republic, the Orchestra Sinfónica Portuguesa directed by the Spanish maestro Pedro Blanch (from 1911) worked in the Teatro da República (ex-Dona Amélia, now São Luís, inaugurated in 1894) and the Orquestra Sinfónica de Lisboa, directed (since 1913), in the recently opened Teatro Politeama, was conducted by David de Sousa, trained in the Leipzig Conservatory. The attempt by the distinguished maestro Francisco de Lacerda to form another orchestra to a high artistic level in 1923 (Filarmónica de Lisboa) was not meanwhile successful. In parallel the choral movement developed to some extent. According to an article in the *Diário de Notícias*, as early as 1863 on the occasion of a visit to Paris the «Artist-King» D. Fernando II had «various conferences with Rossini and with various other musical dignitaries to study the means of establishing in Portugal choral associations which have so much influence on the education and morality of the French and German peoples» [Teixeira, 1986: 285]. Also at the end of his career the Italian Frondoni was interested in establishing choral singing in Portugal but without success. As well as the Academia de Amadores de Música and the Orfeão Portuense in their early days, choral music was also cultivated by the Sociedade Artística de Concertos de Canto, presided over by the Countess of Proença-a-Velha, and the Schola Cantorum of the singing theacher Alberto Sarti; in Coimbra still as a student, João Arroyo was the

founder of the Orfeão Académico in an action later continued by António Joyce.

In the field of opera the criticism of the institutional model of Teatro de São Carlos grew as did that of its incapacity to become itself a national opera theatre, which brought the writer Fialho de Almeida to declare, around the theatre's centenary in 1893:

> In the last analysis, even from the point of view of music [...] what has been the role of S. Carlos in the development of national arts and religious cultivation of emotion? In so many years of lyric subsidies has there been a case of a habituée of S. Carlos with fine taste, an educated acoustic criterium, a strong philosophic passion for the genial work of the great masters? In a hundred years the history of the musical passions which S. Carlos has sheltered never in truth was more than small talk without importance, begun by cliques, inspired by the personal sympathy of an amusing singer, by the beauty of an insinuating prima-dona or by tickets given away by impresarios. [Almeida, 1933: 266-7.]

In fact the state subsidy for S. Carlos was already suppressed in 1892 [Benevides, 1902: 81-2]; at the same time and under the pressure of new currents of taste the impresarios were obliged to introduce substantial alterations in the theatre's program. The great novelty of the end of the century was from 1883 the introduction of the Wagnerian dramas (*Lohengrin*) and the «verismo» operas (*Cavalleria Rusticana* by Mascagni in 1891, *Pagliacci* by Leoncavallo in 1896) and of Puccini (*Manon Lescaut* in 1894, the same year as the first performance of *Falstaff*); at the same time the French repertory (Bizet, Massenet, Berlioz, Ambroise Thomas, Saint-Saëns) had a considerable impact reaching its peak in the 1909-10 season. Integrating itself as «Italian theatre» in the movement of the spreading of Wagner's works in Italy (from 1871) São Carlos registered especially from 1892-3, under the orientation of the impresario Freitas Brito, a wave of Wagnerophilia which culminated with the first performance of the *Ring*, sung in German and preceeded by an initiation to the work with numerous publications and lectures in the 1908-9 season (also marking the end of the monopoly of Italian companies in the theatre). Meanwhile the popular lyrical seasons in the Coliseu dos Recreios (opened in 1890) with its capacity of around six thousand places (as opposed to around a thousand in

São Carlos) introduced a dimension of «culture for the masses» previously unknown in Portugal in the field of the operatic spectacle.

The reception of Wagner's work, to which as the «art of ideas» all the «progressive» musicians and critics of the age (Moreira de Sá, Viana da Mota, Aarão de Lacerda, António Arroyo) passionately adhered, caused contradictory reactions and clearly marked a division between an «understanding» public and «common» taste at the same time that it reinforced a more acute awareness of the qualities of musico-dramatic coherence. Especially from the 20's Wagner became a central point of reference in the ideological debate in Portugal: while in the columns of the anarcho-syndical paper *A Batalha* the character of Siegfried was adopted as a symbol of the hero workman and revolutionary, conservative circles projected on Parsifal the mystical image of the savior of a dying country: an image which was soon to be exploited as a support for a political philosophy of messianic and sebastionistic character, following the example of the «President-King» Sidónio Pais [Vieira de Carvalho, 1984: 187-94]:

> Youth! When tomorrow, armed in unshakeable faith, you come down from this spiritual hill (Coimbra University), I hope that, like the candid Parsifal in the evil gardens of Klingsor, you will resist the temptations of the sorceress and will manage to seize with youthful daring from the hands of Ignorance the miraculous lance whose touch will heal the wound of the mother-land! [Carlos Malheiro Dias, *Exhortation to Youth*, in *op. cit.*: 191-2.]

Interrupted in 1912, the activity of São Carlos began again in 1919 by means of the Propaganda Society of Portugal to whom the government of Sidónio Pais entrusted the theatre as a free concession. In the course of seasons then organised by the impresario Ercole Casali the program included the first performance of *Parsifal* (1921), *Boris Godunov* (1923) and *Rosenkavalier* (1924), followed by *Pelléas et Mélisande* in 1925 [idem: 214-20].

In consequence of unpropitious conditions the best Portuguese singers of the age developed their careers (sometimes brilliant) mainly abroad: among them were celebrated the brothers António and Francisco de Andrade (universally feted as *the* Don Giovanni of his time), Maurício Bensaúde, D. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, Maria Júdice da Costa and Regina Pacini [Moreau, 1981 and 1984].

Meanwhile the tradition of a musical theatre in Portuguese was not completely lost, in the absence of a true vocal school it was practiced by actor-singers without specific musical preparation; the artistic merit of these companies was accessed, not without irony, by Júlio César Machado:

> One cannot say that the singing is bad at the Trindade, I even think it remarkable that artists without any vocal training can take on so very many operettas, zarzuelas, comic operas. They don't sing badly anyway. [Machado, 1875: 205.]

With wider ambitions, Ciríaco de Cardoso, in the Baquet and D. Afonso theatres of Porto of the 1880's animated comic opera companies in a repertory that included (in the second of these theatres) *Carmen, Fra Diavolo* and *Freischütz* (for the first time in Portugal), while in Lisbon Luís Filgueiras, associate of the impresario Afonso Taveira in 1909 at the Teatro da Trindade promoted the public's favourite operas in Portuguese versions. At the same time the various forms of «light» musical theatre prospered centering on the new Teatro Avenida (opened 1888) as well as the Condes, Ginásio and Trindade [for the period of the 1st Republic, see Oliveira Marques, 1981: 419-22 and 466-8].

Fin de Siècle and Modernism

Commenting on the importance of opera in Portuguese musical life at the beginning of the XX century, Viana da Mota wrote in 1917 with typical moralising intent:

> The fatal preponderance of Opera in Portugal means that even today this genre is considered the most exalted in music and the only one which is worthy of a singer's study. The supreme ambition of a Portuguese composer is to write an opera. Sad proof of the intelligence of our singers and musical amateurs who fall into extasies over fragments of operas showing that they do not even understand the most worthwhile part of dramatic literature which is the creation of personality and of drama. [Vieira de Carvalho, 1984: 183-4.]

In effect it is to the lyrical genre that the majority of Portuguese composers of the age gave their closest attention. Among them were: José Augusto Ferreira da Veiga, Viscount of Arneiro (1838-1903) who presented his *L'elisir di giovinezza* at São Carlos in 1876 completely revised and put on again as *La derelitta* at the same theatre in 1885. He left unperformed another opera, *Dom Bibas*, based on the novel *O Bobo* by Alexandre Herculano; Frederico Guimarães (1849-1918) author of *Beatrice*, poorly received in 1882; Francisco de Freitas Gazul (1842-1925), with *Fra Luigi di Sousa* (1891), on a play by Garrett, equally prolific as a composer of religious and instrumental music; Óscar da Silva (1870-1958), celebrated pianist and composer for his instrument, to whom we will refer again, with the «lyric novel» *Dona Mécia*, sung with uncommon success in 1901 at the Coliseu dos Recreios; João Marcelino Arroyo (1861-1930), orator and politician conspicuous in the last days of the Monarchy and a dilettante composer of considerable talent, author of a «Wagnerian» *Amore e Perdizione* after Camilo Castelo Branco, sung at São Carlos in 1907 and repeated with success in Hamburg as well as a second opera, *Leonora Telles* which was never put on; Hermínio do Nascimento (1890-1972) prolific composer in all fields with *Sóror Mariana* (1918); and Rui Coelho (1892-1986) who after studies in Berlin with Max Bruch and Humperdinck became the most persistant crusader for national opera with, among others, *O serão da Infanta* (1913), *Crisfal* (1920) and *Belkiss* (1928, which won a competition in 1924 in Madrid), being also the author of an extensive production of symphonic and chamber music of militantly nationalistic inspiration, as well as ballet music (from 1912 with *A princesa dos sapatos de ferro*). The tradition of operetta and comic opera was brilliantly represented by the Oporto composer Domingos Ciríaco de Cardoso (1846-1900) with *O Burro do Senhor Alcaide* (1891) and *O Solar dos Barrigas* (1892) to libretti by Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara and continued by Filipe Duarte (1855-1928) and Luís Filgueiras (1862-1929).

The two most important lyrical composers of the age are without doubt, Alfredo Keil and Augusto Machado. Of German origin on his father's side and Alsacian on his mother's, Alfredo Keil (1850-1907) distinguished himself in fin de siècle Portuguese culture as a worthy example of the cosmopolitan dilettante, deserving equal note as painter and composer. After an experiment in light music theatre (*Susanna*, first performed in 1883 at the Teatro da Trindade), of the cantata *Patrie*, of the symphonic poem *Uma caçada na corte*

(1884) and the «lyric-poem» *Les Orientales* (1886) he put on with success at São Carlos the opera *Donna Bianca* (1888) based on the poem *Dona Branca* by Garrett; in the Teatro Regio of Turin in 1893 the lyric drama *Irene* (on the legend of St. Iria) repeated in Lisbon in 1896; and in 1899, *Serrana* (to a libretto by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça inspired by a story of Camilo Castelo Branco), which, thanks to the skillful presentation of the mountain atmosphere of the Beira Baixa passed into history, somewhat inaccurately, as «the first Portuguese national opera» (in reality though the printed score puts the Portuguese text in first place, the opera, like so many others, was originally created in Italian and it should be recognised that the melodic writing is generally better suited to the Italian than the Portuguese prosody).

Musically, *Serrana* (dedicated to Massenet whom Keil knew in Paris) owes less to folklore than to the assimilation of a realism closer to Mascagni and it has remained appreciated if somewhat sporadically in the Portuguese lyrical repertory. Keil also left orchestral suites, numerous salon pieces, and various occasional pieces including the hymn *A Portuguesa* (1890), written on the occasion of the English Ultimatum which came to be proclaimed the national anthem of the Portuguese Republic by the Constitutional Assembly of 1911 (words by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça).

In contrast to Alfred Keil, Augusto Machado (1845-1924), who became director of the Conservatory between 1901 and 1910 (where he organised the important reform then undertaken in this establishment), is an example of complete professionalism joined to an intellectual culture rare in Portuguese theatre composers of the day. He began his studies in Lisbon with Joaquim Casimiro and João Guilherme Daddi, continued them in Paris with Lavignac and Dannhauser at the same time as consorting with personalities like Massenet and Saint-Saëns, composers who came to have a decisive influence on his own style. Abandoning a pianistic career, Machado devoted himself almost exclusively to composition, beginning in the light mode with the «burlesque opera» *O sol da Navarra* (1870), followed amongst others by *A cruz de ouro* (1873), *O degelo* (1875) and *Maria da Fonte* (1879). In 1883 his opera *Lauriane* opened in the Grand Theâtre de Marseille with relative success (the libretto based on George Sand). It was later repeated in Lisbon. There followed the grand historical opera *I Doria* for S. Carlos to a libretto of Ghislanzoni (1887), *Mario Vetter* to a libretto by Leoncavallo (1898), *La borghesina*,

a lyrical comedy with libretto by Golisciani (1909) and various works in Portuguese like the comic opera *O espadachim do outeiro*, the lyrical farce *O tição negro* and the fantasy piece *Vénus* which are some of the best examples of the respective genres in the history of Portuguese musical theatre. Also worthy of mention are the symphonic ode *Camões e os Lusíadas*, composed for the poet's tricentenary and the «lyrical episode» *Rosas de todo o ano* on a well known play by Júlio Dantas which was first performed in 1920.

Equally the author of piano pieces and songs, Augusto Machado represents a privileged moment of the overcoming of the traditional operatic model. In his work there is a constant evolution which, influenced by the French models of Bizet, Chabrier, Charpentier and Massenet, arrives at his own personal style, characterised by a harmonic and orchestral subtlety without precedents in Portuguese theatre music, while his works for the «light» theatre achieve with more solid workmanship the «nationalist» project of a Casimiro or of a Keil. Belonging to the circle of Batalha Reis and Eça de Queirós, it is possible that up to a point the composer may have been the model for the musician Cruges in *Os Maias*.

Meanwhile, under the combined influence of French and German examples the axis of musical creativity in Portugal moved slowly from the operatic field to that of symphony and chamber music (to the point that from the 1920's the balance of the two components can be considered totally reversed). A decisive impulse for this was given by the pianist Alexandre Rey Colaço (1854-1928) as we have seen with his action in support of symphonic culture only marginally reflected in his own compositions of decidedly nationalistic inspiration (*Fados, Suite portuguesa* and other piano pieces, *Cantigas de Portugal* for voice and piano); also his close collaborator, the violinist and conductor Vítor Hussla (1857-1899), who we have seen connected to the activity of the Academia de Amadores de Música with his *Rapsódias portuguesas* for orchestra (1892), found a new way of using folk melodies which came to be widely imitated [Vieira, 1990: I, 491-7].

The most influential figures in Portuguese musical life at the turn of the century were José Viana da Mota and Luís de Freitas Branco. Born on the island of S. Tomé, Viana da Mota (1868-1948) made his first public appearance in the Salon of the Trindade in 1881 with pieces of his own composition in the program. Thanks to the patronage of D. Fernando and the Countess of Edla he left

for Berlin in 1882 to attend the Scharwenka Conservatory, equally having lessons from Liszt in Weimar in 1885 and from 1887 from Hans von Bülow; in Germany, Wagner was a revelation especially after his first visit to Bayreuth (1884) and his interest in the work and philosophy of the German composer made him in the 1890's a much appreciated lecturer pianist as well as a collaborator of the *Bayreuther Blätter* and other Wagnerian publications; he had friendly relations with various leading figures of Berlin musical life especially with Ferruccio Busoni who dedicated his transcriptions of Bach's *Choral Preludes* to Viana da Mota and with whom he maintained an intense correspondance. From 1886-7 Viana da Mota began his concert activity in Germany and other countries and in a short space of time was hailed as one of the best pianists of the age (especially as an exceptional interpreter of Bach, Beethoven and Liszt); with the beginning of the Great War, he moved to Switzerland and was professor in the Geneva Conservatory. In 1917 he settled definitively in Portugal being nominated director of the Lisbon Conservatory where he actively participated in a reform project of that institution officially put into practice in 1919.

As a composer Viana da Mota starts with an approximation to the aesthetics of German Romanticism and developed a style which is characteristically national, partly based on a personal reworking of folklore (for an analysis of this style and a well documented biography see Freitas Branco, 1987). As well as numerous piano pieces (*Barcarolas, Sonata, Balada, Rapsódias portuguesas, Cenas portuguesas*), *lieder* on German and Portuguese texts, concert and chamber music (*String Quartets*, *Trio* for piano, violin and cello, *Sonata* for violin and piano, etc.); he left in the A minor *Symphony*, «*À Pátria*» (written in 1895 and first performed two years later in a concert of the Orpheon Portuense), a work deeply symbolic of a certain mythology of a national «revival» (symptomatically inspired by Camões), possibly the most eloquent musical testimony of the post-Ultimatum:

> [The last movement of the symphony] describes a wide range of states of spirit from the sense of imminent disaster of the *Introduction*, the weakness resulting from this disaster, the bloody strife and the feeling of a religious people expressed in the supplication contained in the *Allegro Agitato* and finally the intensely expressed exhuberant joy of victory heralded by the *Triumphal March*. The symphony ends in

> a majestic climax with a kind of hymn of the most brilliant colour and light. [Arroyo, 1897:'8.]

As for Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955) it is usual to describe him as «the pioneer of musical modernism to Portugal» for the role which he had in bringing Portuguese music of his time closer to the more innovative European aesthetic currents expressed in his work as composer, editor and teacher (professor of the Lisbon Conservatory from 1916 where among others he taught the disciplines of «musical sciences» and composition). Educated in the aristocratic traditions of a family with ancient titles (his father was a highly placed employee of the monarchist administration) he was especially influenced by an uncle, João de Freitas Branco, writer and theatre critic, who spread the works of Ibsen, Björnson and Maeterlinck in Portugal. Showing musical talent from an early age his first teachers were Augusto Machado and Padre Tomás Borba. From 1906 he continued his studies with the Belgian organist and composer Désiré Pâque who initiated him in the theories of Vincent d'Indy (the actual influence of Pâque, one of the pioneers of atonality, on the more advanced aspects of Freitas Branco's style still lacks investigation in depth); in 1910 he left for Berlin to study with Humperdinck and where he reencountered the Belgian master. In this city he attended a performance of *Pelléas et Mélisande* by Debussy which came to have a decisive influence on the francophile and latin trend of his aesthetic:

> [...] In my life something curious happened, in 1910 while studying in Berlin I heard *Pelléas* for the first time, my musical education, till then essentially Germanic, changed, or rather, a new artistic life began which was finally the one for which I had been yearning for. After this, during my foreign visits I heard Russian lyric dramas and ballets, orchestral and dramatic works by Ravel, Schmitt, D'Indy, Rimsky, whose scores fixed me more and more on the path I had already taken.
>
> — Does that mean that *Pelléas* put you on a completely different track...
>
> — More than this, that masterpiece of modern music was the most important event of my humble artistic aspiration. [Pinto (Sacavém), 1913: 86.]

His first important work is the (1st) *Sonata* for violin and piano finished in 1907 and given a prize in a competition promoted by the Sociedade de Música de Câmara the following year (see above). It shows a clear influence of César Franck (cyclic forms of construction would be a characteristic component of Freitas Branco's writing far beyond the direct incidence of Franck's School); there follow three symphonic poems in the manner of Liszt, *Depois duma leitura de Antero de Quental*, *Depois duma leitura de Júlio Dinis* and *Depois duma leitura de Guerra Junqueiro* (1908) — the thought of Antero was to be a central reference in the work of Freitas Branco. In 1909 his affinities with French literary and musical culture (in particular with the representatives of the symbolist and decadent movements) were made clear in the *Trilogie de la mort* for voice and piano and other songs to poems by Baudelaire, a tendency equally important in the origin of the song *La glèbe s'amollit* to a text by the symbolist Jean Moréas (1911), the *Trois sonnets de Maurice Maeterlinck* and the *Deux sonnets de Stéphane Mallarmé* (1913) works of particularly daring writing in which appear the influence of the Franck school, of Debussy and of Ravel; in 1910 he finished the symphonic poem *Os paraísos artificiais* inspired by Thomas de Quincey, whose first hearing (1913) directed by Pedro Blanch, disconcerted the Lisbon public and in 1913 the symphonic poem in the form of variations, *Vathek*, on a story by William Beckford (whose 3rd variation is of an intricate polyphonic writing and constitutes a precocious example in European music of a «textural» concept of sound which only became common in certain avant-garde works of the 60's and 70's). He also composed various piano pieces (*Albumblätter*, *Mirages*, a series of *Prelúdios* finished in 1918 and dedicated to Viana da Mota), a *String Quartet* (1911) a *Sonata* for cello and piano (1913), and various melodies on Portuguese texts, in an extraordinary display of criativity practically without paralell in the history of Portuguese music (in a certain way comparable to the «modernist» effervescence in the literature and fine arts of his Portuguese contemporaries).

Meanwhile from around 1911 another component emerges in Freitas Branco's production: an outspoken and militant nationalism which brought him close to the ideologies of the Integralismo Lusitano in whose activities he participated from 1915, among others with a conference in the Liga Naval on the history of Portuguese music later included in the volume *A Questão Ibérica*. The following

passage from an interview given to the paper *Novidades* gives an idea of this nuance in his creative position:

> I have, believe me, the greatest interest in proving to my country that through my art I am fundamentally a Portuguese. Yesterday, as you heard, José Júlio Rodrigues, alluding to my musical afiliation, spoke of Mussorgsky and Debussy. It is certain that I have had much inspiration in the processes of these great musicians — as could not fail to be — for me to fit into my time. But, as a matter of fact, unconsciously and as my critic friend has observed, there exists a Mediterranean basis to my works which has nothing to do with those two masters — which is in my blood. [*Novidades*, 17/3/1911: 2.]

The first significant reflexion of this direction is the oratorio *As tentações de S. Frei Gil* to a poem by António Correia de Oliveira (1911), followed by the symphonic poem *Viriato* based on a text by Hipólito Raposo (1916). However Freitas Branco did not delay in moving away from the strictly nationalistic perspective of the Integralists, but preserving a concern for «Portugueseness» in his music which contrary to Viana da Mota and others owes little to the direct use of folklore (the two main exceptions are the *Suites Alentejanas* of 1919 and 1927 inspired by the province to which he thought himself most sentimentally attached). His atavistic lack of enthusiasm for folklore (balanced by an acute awareness of the literary and historical roots of Portuguese culture) would later be reinforced, well into the Salazar regime, by criticism of the demagogic use of folklore as a propaganda weapon and mind conditioner:

> I say here very much in secret that the great length of time I have spent in the country makes me more and more detest popular song and village festivals [...] All this reminds me of the animal inferiority in which these unfortunate people are kept without they're being aware of it, and arouses in me together with a repulsion for folklore the desire to urge them to more and more truly beautiful and artistic manifestations. Meanwhile as the provinces always copy the Lisbon fashion the rich boys of this countryside (the region of Reguengos de Monsaraz where the composer had an estate) whose parents fifty years ago dressed in Lisbon style and

> asked about the artist of S. Carlos, now, on the merest festive pretext masquerade as harvesters, ox-cart drivers or shepherds and make speeches and greetings in a virtuous and religious language that the true Alentejo workers haven't used for a century and a half. [Unpublished letter to Viana da Mota, 3/11/1943.]

Fully coherent with his artistic vision Freitas Branco had a political evolution which progressively led him to identify with certain left wing positions (nominally under the influence of António Sérgio) and to show a clear opposition to the Salazar regime with considerable prejudice to his own professional life.

From around 1920 his compositional style underwent a turnabout from the Symbolist and sensual climate of the first works in agreement with a creative purpose divided between a rationalist attitude and nostalgic recovery of certain cultural values of the Renaissance (polyphony, gregorian modality, linearity, etc.), accompanied by a special valuation of the works of Camões (*Madrigais camonianos*, *Redondilhas for choir*, works of the 30's and 40's). Especially representative of this constructivist and neo-classical slant are the four *Symphonies* (1924, 1926, 1943 and 1952), and the 2nd *Sonata* for violin and piano (1928), the *Hino à Razão* (1934) and the song cycle *A Ideia* on sonnets by Antero de Quental (1943) [for a chronology of the life and work of the composer see *Luís de Freitas Branco, Exhibition Catalogue* [...], 1975: 25-40].

Among the prominent figures of Portuguese music of the turn of the century some names should still be mentioned. Júlio Neuparth (1863-1919), descendent of a notable family of musicians, was professor of harmony in the Lisbon Conservatory (for which he translated didactic works by Durand and Gevaert), principal columnist of the review *Amphion* and cultivator of chamber and symphonic music (a string quartet of his was given a prize in 1908 in the same competition which distinguished the sonata of Freitas Branco), with some incursions into the territory of musical theatre; Father Tomás Borba (1867-1950), of Azorian origin, was distinguished as a teacher being the author of a *Manual de harmonia* (1937) «that has the merit of being one of the first works of its kind in Portuguese to consider the phenomena of modern harmony» [Borba and Lopes-Graça, 1956: 210]; the maestro David de Sousa (1880-1918) had a certain success as a composer (*Cantares portugueses*, etc.); and Tomás de Lima (1887-1950) achieved notoriety with a «biblical sce-

ne» *A Moabita* (1907) for solos, chorus and orchestra, equally writing various works for orchestra, piano, voice and chamber groups.

As for Francisco de Lacerda (1869-1934), distinguished maestro born in S. Jorge (Azores) in an aristocratic family he won immediate fame by winning a state scholarship (1895) in public competition then leaving for Paris where he attended the Conservatory and the Schola Cantorum (from 1897). In France and Switzerland, Lacerda associated with Eça de Queirós, Debussy, Henri Duparc, Ernest Ansermet; he became d'Indy's assistant in the orchestra class of the Schola and began an international career as a conductor interrupted by the Great War which forced him to take refuge in the Azores.

In 1921 he settled in Lisbon where he organized various initiatives to dynamize musical and artistic life: «An hour for art» for workmen (1922), the group Pró-Arte with Eugénio de Castro, Afonso Lopes Vieira, Malheiro Dias, Raúl Lino and others (1923) trying in the same year the unsuccessful experiment of the Filarmonia de Lisboa; he went back to conducting in Montreux and Paris, but short by afterwards restricted his activity for reasons of health. A highly acclaimed interpreter of Russian, French and Spanish music, Francisco de Lacerda was also a composer of merit, markedly influenced by the harmonic language of Fauré and Debussy though his many-faced career did not permit him to fully devote himself to composition; to him are owed various piano works (in particular a series of minatures entitled *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, composed between 1902 and 1922) stage music for *L'intruse* by Maeterlinck, pieces for voice and piano (among them a collection of *Trovas* to popular texts, some of them later orchestrated) and works for orchestra of which the «symphonic tableau» *Almourol* (1926) is specially celebrated [see chronological biography in *Francisco de Lacerda. Exhibition catalogue* (...) 1969] Both from Oporto, Óscar da Silva (1870-1958) and Luís Costa (1879-1860) were firstly distinguished as pianists. The former attended the Conservatories of Leipzig and Frankfurt, worked with Clara Schumann and developed in many piano pieces a musical language of an intimate nature in the spirit of good salon music but whose harmonic texture tends to become richer from the 1930's (among pianistic pieces, generally joined in «cycles» are *Imagens*, *Mazurcas*, *Dolorosas*, *Páginas portuguesas*, *Bagatelas*, *Girouettes*, *Vieilleries*, *Extras*, *Queixumes*, *Estudos*, *Prelúdios*); as well as the above mentioned opera he also composed the symphonic poem *Miriam* and chamber music (outstandingly the *Sonata «Saudade»* for violin and

piano dated 1915). The latter composer, equally trained in Germany with Viana da Mota, Stavenhagen and Busoni, had a notable teaching activity in Oporto (director of the local conservatory and from 1924 also of the Orpheon Portuense, where he promoted, amongst others, the presentation of Ravel as interpreter of his own works). Of his work as a composer from the beginning of the century stand out the numerous pieces dedicated to his own instrument (*Poemas do Monte*, *Telas campesinas*, *Estudos*, *Prelúdios*), a *Fantasy* for piano and orchestra, chamber music and songs. A third pianist-composer hailing from Oporto, Hernâni Torres (1881-1939) attended the Leipzig Conservatory where he later became a teacher and returned to the city of his birth in 1924 in his turn being the director of the Conservatory; writing numerous pieces for piano, voice and chamber music groups.

In the last place the pianist and composer António de Lima Fragoso deserves special mention. Born in 1897 he died tragically in 1918 (like Amadeu de Souza Cardoso and the maestro David de Sousa, but younger than either of them) victim of the epidemic of «pneumonic» influenza. Pupil of Tomás Borba in the Lisbon Conservatory, Fragoso revealed his considerable talent as a composer in a concert of 1916 at the Academia de Amadores de Música, entirely made up of his works; with the exception of *Toadas da minha aldeia*, for voice and piano, the most significant part of his production dates from a short period of only four years (between 1915 and 1918) even so it gives notable testimony to the art of a highly gifted musician, follower of Fauré and Debussy, who unfortunately could not completely mature his language (*Petite suite*, *Prelúdios*, *Nocturnos*, *Sonata* and other works for piano, *Canções do sol poente*, on poems by António Correia de Oliveira, *Fêtes galantes*, *Poèmes saturniens*, to poems by Verlaine, for voice and piano, *Suite romântica* for violin and piano, *Trio* for piano, violin and cello, etc.) [see the catalogue of works *in* Jorge, 1968: 81-5]. Shortly before his death, with implacable lucidity, the composer analysed the contradictions and ambiguities of the Portuguese musical «nationalism» of his time:

> Unfortunately our songs do not have, as music, the ardour, the passion, the enchanting orientalism and the expression of the songs of the Russian Gypsies [...]; they do not have the colour and intensity of Hungarian, Norwegian and principally Spanish songs [...] These are a splendid source of in-

> spiration and the great Spanish composers who are forming a national school have understood this very well. A school that today has great enthusiasts and tomorrow will be truly famous. On the contrary our songs are all constructed on two chords — tonic and dominant — the only ones that fit well with their melody [...] It does not seem to me that Portuguese composers select a very good path using these themes. In my opinion what those who want to create a school of national music should do is to conceive new melodies with a new atmosphere and a modern tonality which goes beyond the rudimentary tonality of perfect chords. [*Op. cit.*: 91-2.]

The debate between the partisans of an aesthetic attitude of nationalist character (inspired or not by folklore) and the defenders of a cosmopolitan or universalist artistic orientation did not close in the politically disturbed but culturally productive period of the 1st Republic. With its ideological presuppositions reformulated we will come across it again in the next period, prolonging its effects in one form or another practically up to our times.

From Propaganda to Resistance

The military revolt of May 28th 1926 brought about a dictatorial regime which would effect the whole of Portuguese life for almost half a century. This immediately provoked a movement of ideological contraction profoundly adverse to any form of artistic activity and reinforced by the moral puritanism and economic austerity of Salazar, first as Minister of Finance and later as President of the Council, for whom education and culture were never a priority. The establishment of censure in the press, the mistrust of the regime for any type of exchange of ideas, the censorship in official institutions, the narrow political doctrination in schools and youth organizations of fascist inspiration (in particular the «Mocidade Portuguesa» under whose control came for example the discipline of «choral singing»), the closing of the country to intellectual currents and the aesthetics of the avant-garde, rapidly extinguished the flood of literary, plastic and musical creativity seen in the first decades of the

century, while the spirit of an ultranationalistic crusade encouraged by the «Estado Novo» (the name given to the regime from the beginning of the 1930's) showed itself incapable of producing outstanding works in the artistic field and achieved a rigorous segregation between a «popular» culture of the masses and the so-called «high culture».

Under the influence of European fascism the concept of culture was replaced by that of propaganda; the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN) later called the Secretariat of National Information, created in 1933, in which António Ferro, a kind of «assimilated» modernist seduced by the political charisma of Salazar, developed an intense promotional activity of a touristic and artistic image of the country which was naturally unanimous and pacifying (a certain vision of «folklore» and «regional» culture which has lasted till today in the most varied areas of the Portuguese mentality is unargueably a reflex of the «politics of the spirit» of the Estado Novo). Curiously the prevailing attitude among the ruling class was so hostile to any form of exchange of ideas and of cultural enterprize that António Ferro himself in 1948 having become the «enfant terrible» of the regime, saw the necessity of clarifying those who still had not «understood» the utility of his organization (judging excessive the funds alloted to the SNI in the State Budget), which allowed him to once again praise the dictator:

> Salazar, even when he disagreed with us, did not doubt, and let us make some experiments to shake up certain fixed ideas, to open certain rusted-up windows to let fresh air into Portuguese life. [Ferro, 1984: 22.]

Two dates decisively mark Portuguese music in the Salazar era: the setting up in 1933 of the official radio station (the future Emissora Nacional) under the aegis of the Minister of Public Works and Communications, Duarte Pacheco; and in 1940 the group of activities and performances commemorating 800 years of the Nation and 300 of the Restoration, concentrated in the Portuguese World Exhibition (with a strong musical component) and in the foundation of the ballet group Verde Gaio (specialized in the «stylization» of folk dancing), possibly the most successful vehicle of cultural propaganda of the Estado Novo on a level with its prestigious architectural achievements. In 1941, António Ferro joined to his previous functions that of President of the Administrative Commitee of the Emissora Nacional.

The foundation of the EN is linked to the creation of the Symphonic Orchestra of the Emissora Nacional (1934) destined to become the principal orchestra of the country until 1989 (despite dedicating most of its activity in its initial phase to studio work), to which Duarte Pacheco managed to attract the illustrious maestro Pedro de Freitas Branco (1896-1963) who from 1927 had been in evidence with the attempt to found a national opera company, and from the next year with the direction of a Symphonic Concerts series in the Tivoli Theatre in which he gave special attention to the spreading of contemporary repertoire; becoming internationally known as an interpreter of the first rank of modern French and Spanish music, and being invited in 1932 by Ravel to conduct a program of his works (in the same concert in which the composer himself directed the first performance of the *Concerto* in G), thus beginning for Pedro de Freitas Branco a prestigious international career, which continued in paralell with his activity with the orchestra of the Emissora [Paes, 1963: 389-462].

Private iniciatives in the organization of concerts declined in this period as a result of the progressive centralization of musical life: the principal exceptions being the sessions of «divulgação musical» patronized from the mid-1920's by Ema Romero da Câmara Reis (to whose activity is owed among others the first performance in Portugal of Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* in 1932); the series of recitals organised in 1931 at the Lisbon Cinema Royal by the pianist Lourenço Varela Cid; and especially the Círculo de Cultura Musical (formed in 1934), promoter of concerts with the participation of the foremost Portuguese and foreign artists (causing the visit to Portugal of personalities like Prokofiev, Casella, Poulenc, Honegger and Hindemith), whose activity also extended to other cities of the country; from 1940 the C.C.M. also sponsored a prize for Portuguese composers. Its founder, Elisa de Sousa Pedroso, a figure of exceptional prestige in the eyes of the official authorities, also had an important role in directing the musical activities of the Lisbon Town Hall and in the constitution of the Portuguese «Jeunesses Musicales» (1947): in the organization of the latter Joly Braga Santos, João de Freitas Branco, Maria Elvira Barroso and Filipe de Sousa were actively involved [Borba and Lopes-Graça, 1956: 257 and 1958: 357-8, 659 and 748].

The tradition of public symphonic concerts would only partly be continued by the Orquestra Filarmónica de Lisboa (created by Ivo Cruz in 1937 but of intermittant activity) and by the Orquestra

Sinfónica de Lisboa, a municipal initiative (from 1954 directed by Fernando Cabral but of equally irregular activity); meanwhile the Orquestra Sinfónica do Conservatório was created in 1947 in Oporto later becoming integrated with the Emissora Nacional. In other fields should be mentioned the initiatives of Ivo Cruz (Renascimento Musical, from 1923, with Eduardo Libório, looking to reactivate the erudite Portuguese musical tradition; the Sociedade Coral Duarte Lobo, from 1931, and the organization of the Pró-Arte concerts created in 1951 as an extension of the activities of the Conservatório Nacional with the intention of promoting musical decentralization in the country [Cruz, 1985, *passim*]); while Frederico de Freitas created the Sociedade Coral de Lisboa (1940) and Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro the vocal ensemble Polyphonia (1941). Lastly, in 1942 Fernando Lopes-Graça created the concert organization Sonata exclusively dedicated to the spread of contemporary Portuguese and foreign music [Borba and Lopes-Graça 1958: 565], in an explicitly critical gesture of the situation of Portuguese musical life in the 1940's as can be inferred from the presentation text of the inaugural concert:

> We do not think we exaggerate when we affirm that modern music is almost totally unknown in Portugal. With the exception of a small group of people who have given it some attention [...] the general concert going public has few opportunities for contact with the authentic musical expressions of our time and form more or less secure opinions on it. It seems that things have lately got worse. A dozen years ago when there were still public symphonic concerts and more frequent chamber music recitals there was always one or another conductor or soloist there who dared to think that music had not ended with Wagner or Liszt and included in their programs a work by a modern composer. Such a thing is rare today: we do not have public concerts and in the private societies that bring us the most celebrated virtuosi of bow or keyboard, modern music does not appear to have much good credit. Only occasionally do we hear one or another piece by Debussy or Ravel — and that is all. [*Sonata*, 1942.]

On the initiative of António Ferro was begun an Office of Musical Studies in the same year of 1942 also in the orbit of the E N. Its policy of commissions became a stimulus to musical creativity (con-

ditioned however by the tepid modernism and picturesque folklorism favoured by the regime). In the same spirit the Verde Gaio group came to request a certain number of ballet scores by Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos, Frederico de Freitas, Rui Coelho, Armando José Fernandes and Cláudio Carneiro.

The centenary commemorations of 1940 were marked by the recovery of the São Carlos Theatre, practically closed to lyrical activity since 1927. With the aim of getting the maximum propaganda value from the great restoration carried out in 1938 (incidentally, badly done from the technical point of view) the Government luxuriously promoted the reopening of the theatre (which Salazar, symptomatically called the «drawing-room of Portugal»), with the opera *D. João IV* by Rui Coelho who since 1931, the year of the performance of the oratorio *Fátima* in the same theatre had become the semi-official composer of the regime.

In 1946 the theatre became directly administered by the State, through a director for life (and man in Salazar's confidence) José Figueiredo; under him São Carlos reinforced the elitist component of its public and rapidly took up again the function of a theatre of prestige with the appearance of great international singing stars and an eminently conservative program (the first performance in 1959 of *Wozzeck* by Alban Berg was on all accounts a sensational novelty received with repulsion or perplexity by the more orthodox sectors of the critics and the public). In 1963 under the auspices of the FNAT (National Federation for Happyness a Work) dependent on the Ministry of Corporations in line with a strategy of supposed «education of the masses» which had already brought about a series of «popular seasons» in the Coliseu dos Recreios, was achieved the idea of the creation of a Portuguese Opera Company (installed in the Trindade Theatre), which in spite of offering new generations of Portuguese singers an opportunity to become professional does not seem to have usefully contributed to the creating of a true singing school nor to the renovation of lyrical activity in the country (rather it came by the routine character of the programming and the normally deficient artistic quality of the performances to reinforce a persistent mistrust in relation to the feasibility of similar projects).

In the Conservatory, Viana da Mota retired in 1938 on reaching the age limit and the post of director was filled by the composer Ivo Cruz (1901-1985), who from 1936 was president of the National Union of Musicians and Procurador to the Câmara Corporativa; the

following year, Luís de Freitas Branco, increasingly associated with «subversive» political tendencies, was suspended from his functions in that teaching establishment (later also from the Emissora Nacional), at the same time as was established between professors and pupils an atmosphere conducive to ideological «normalization» as an integral part of the regimentation of the cultural life of the country.

In this context after the relative exhuberance of the previous period as might be expected, musical creativity showed a clear downturn. In a book published in 1960, João de Freitas Branco analysed as follows the role of the regime in the specific field of music:

> Portuguese interventionism does not assume coercive or even semi-coercive attitudes, this we can say is true in terms of musical aesthetics. There is no official line and in this point the liberty of the creative artist appears complete [...]
>
> Indirectly, temporary circumstances have had a result — that sometimes is the prevention of a result — that can be readily seen. On the positive side there are the comissions, opportunities for performers, the putting on of concerts, opera or ballet shows, lending of orchestras to private entities, competitions and other events normal in a nation of European education. On the other hand there are deploreable inertias and flagrant incompetences; there is intervention on the activity of individuals or groups suspected of a lack of conformity; an official institution in practice called «national» (the author probably refers to the National Radio) which makes young people feel that there are certain limits that their enthusiasm cannot go beyond» [Freitas Branco, 1960: 61-3].

Portuguese composers of the 1940's to the 1960's were thus divided between three fundamental options: to collaborate with conviction, opportunism or resignation in the more or less propagandist projects of the Estado Novo; to dare, to whatever degree, in their work or artistic attitude open defiance to the regime and its aesthetic orientation; or simply to «compose for posterity». The majority of musicians of the epoch fall into the first and third categories (in varying degrees of committment); the second position was defended almost alone by Fernando Lopes-Graça, without a doubt the most obstinate representative in the field of music of political and intellectual resistance to the dictatorship.

Born in Tomar in 1906, Lopes-Graça is today regarded incontestably as the dominant musical personality of Portuguese musical life during the period of Salazar and Marcelo Caetano, a fact the more paradoxical in that all his activity was consciously carried out apart from the official institutions of the regime. He was trained in the Conservatório Nacional where his teachers were Tomás Borba, Luís de Freitas Branco and Viana da Mota. In 1931 he finished the Higher Course of Composition; in the same year he competed for a post as professor in the same establishment but was put in prison for political reasons and his nomination was not approved. For some time he gave lectures at the Academia de Música of Coimbra and at this time he was close to the circles of the review *Presença* (as well as collaborating in the *Seara Nova*); in 1934 he competed for a scholarship to study abroad but once again he saw the favourable decision of the jury revoked for political reasons and was again imprisoned in 1936. The following year he left at his own expense for Paris where he studied musicology and received advice in composition and orchestration from Charles Koechlin.

The years spent in Paris at the height of the Front Populaire, were decisive for his aesthetic and ideological formation, the first representative works of his musical style dating from this day, already annouced in the *Variações sobre um tema popular português*, for piano (1927) and in some pieces for voice and piano, like *O menino de sua mãe* on the poem by Fernando Pessoa (1936); among the works which define a first period of maturity are the 2nd *Sonata* for piano and the *Quarteto* for violin, viola, cello and piano (1939); in Paris he also composed a revue-ballet, *La fièvre du temps* (1938) and began a series of *24 Canções populares portuguesas*. At the time of his return to Portugal (1939) the main lines of his musical language were already drawn, described by João José Cochofel as follows:

> A free harmonic language but with a functional basis of diatonic dissonance, of percussive rhythm alternating with a linear poly-rhythm (which leads to a great variety of metre and frequent abandon of bars), in short and from the expressive point of view, a terse and clear lyricism of popular origin. [Borba and Lopes-Graça 1958: 138-9.]

After settling in Lisbon, where he taught in the Academia de Amadores de Música, he was successively awarded the Composition

Prize of the Círculo de Cultura Musical: in 1940 with the *1st Concerto* for piano and orchestra; two years later with the *História trágico-marítima*, for voice and orchestra to poems by Miguel Torga (a kind of demistifying antidote to the pomp celebrating national grandeur on the occasion of the recent centenaries); in 1944 with a *Sinfonia per orchestra*; and in 1952 with the *3rd Piano sonata*; however with the exception of the piano concerto none of these works was performed in Lisbon. From his varied and extensive production stand out the numerous harmonizations and adaptations of popular songs (from Portuguese and other sources) for solo voice or choir, a most abundant series of songs for voice and piano to texts by the most important Portuguese poets (Camões, Bocage, Antero de Quental, Fernando Pessoa, António Botto, José Régio, Eugénio de Castro, Camilo Pessanha, Mário Cesariny, Eugénio de Andrade, José Gomes Ferreira, Carlos de Oliveira, etc.), an equally considerable number of political and pamphlet songs as well as a multifaceted group of symphonic works (*2nd Concerto* for piano and orchestra, *5 Estelas funerárias*, *Concertino* for piano, strings, brass and percussion, *Poema de Dezembro*, *Para uma criança que vai nascer, Chamber Concert* for cello and orchestra, etc.), chamber music (two *Sonatinas* for violin and piano, *Cuatro canciones de Federico García Lorca*, for voice and chamber ensemble, *Canto de amor e de morte*, for quintet with piano, 2 *string quartets* — the first of which won the Rainier III Prize of Monaco in 1965 —, 2nd *Suite rústica* and *14 Anotações*, for string quartet, 7 *lembranças para Vieira da Silva*, for wind quintet, etc.) and for piano (*Sonatas, 24 Prelúdios, Viagens na minha terra, In memorian Béla Bartók* among others) [see list of works in *Fernando Lopes-Graça, 75th Anniversary* 1981].

The work of Lopes-Graça can be thought of as historically the last and without doubt the most consequential attempt to conceive a «national» style by way of a deep idiosyncratic assimilation of traditional rural music; the composer having been one of the first to study it systematically (partly in collaboration with the Corsican ethnologist Michel Giacometti). This cultural matrix, purified and reinvented, is fitted into a musical language fed by the models of Ravel, Stravinsky, Falla and Bartók, which, while at times coming close to a certain expressionist climate of an atonal basis, rejects the direct influence of the compositional processes of the school of Schönberg. His treatment of folklore is thus at the opposite extreme to the aesthetic of António Ferro: the vision of a «music of

the people» which shines through his work is resolutely distanced from any romantic concept of a bucolic or pictoresque nature, tending rather to accentuate the rude and rough nature of a painful rural existence (showing affinities with the contemporary neo-realist movement in literature and the fine arts); this without a doubt is the most «subversive» aspect of his music but also the origin of a difficult relation with the concert going public that still today does not see itself in the sound world of Lopes-Graça, permeated by a kind of disturbing tension between the musical material and its treatment, which does not seem to lend itself to the consensual affirmation of a collective identity.

Virtually all his contemporaries on the contrary practiced a conservative and passively «neoclassic» style, occasionally tinged with folklore: among them, Armando José Fernandes (1906-1983) and Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos (1910-1974) represent the aesthetic of Nadia Boulanger, with whom they acquired a solid «métier» in Paris: the first especially distinguished with *5 Prelúdios*, *3 Peças* and *Sonatina*, for piano, *Sonata* for violin and piano, *Sonata* for cello and piano, *Quarteto* with piano, *Terramoto de Lisboa* (symphonic poem), *Fantasia sobre temas portugueses* and *Concerto*, for piano and orchestra, *Concerto* for violin and orchestra and the ballet *O homem do cravo na boca*; the second, with pieces for voice and piano, *3 Tocatas a Seixas* and *Partita*, for piano, *Vela vermelha* (symphonic poem), *Vilancico para a festa de Santa Cecília* (soprano, chorus and orchestra), and the ballet *Lenda das amendoeiras*. Both taught at the Academia de Amadores de Música and at the Conservatório Nacional [*Catalogue 1978*].

Frederico de Freitas was the author of an abundant and uneven body of work, ranging over every genre in a very eclectic style that, starting from the polytonal modernism of the *Sonata* for violin and cello (1923), evolved to the academicism of the *Missa Solene* (1940) and the decorative «pastiche» of the *Suite Medieval* (1959). However more personal scores like the *Quarteto Concertante* for two violins, two cellos and orchestra belong unarguably to a nucleus of the most valid Portuguese musical works of the 1940's while the ballets for the Verde Gaio, like *A dança da menina tonta*, in their colourful and lively recreation of popular atmosphere, capture a certain national folkloric sensibility always presented with solid orchestral and compositional craft. He also wrote operas and scores for light music theatre and cinema including the music for

A Severa by Leitão de Barros (1931) the first Portuguese sound movie [*Bibliographic file*, 1980].

Joly Braga Santos (1924-1988) was the favourite pupil of Luís de Freitas Branco. He received part of his training in Italy and devoted himself especially to symphonic music (6 *symphonies*, composed between 1947 and 1972, *Elegia a Viana da Mota*, *Concerto in D* and *Sinfonietta*, for string orchestra, *Variações sobre um tema alentejano*, *Concerto* for viola and orchestra, etc.), he also left choral and chamber works of sound writing; his operas *Viver ou morrer*, *Mérope* and especially the *Trilogia das barcas*, based on Gil Vicente and first performed at the 1970 Gulbenkian Festival, constitute some of the best works in the Portuguese lyrical repertory of this century. From the 1960's, a certain stylistic renovation in Joly Braga Santos can be observed, until then characterized by a neoclassicism of modal tendency and coming to incorporate certain elements of contemporary idioms without abandoning the essential presuppositions of his aesthetics [Freitas Branco 1989: 29-41 and *Homenagem* 1989].

In Oporto the main creative musical personality of the first half of the century was Cláudio Carneiro (1895-1963) son of the painter António Carneiro. Pupil of Lucien Lambert, a French composer living in Porto, he continued his studies with, amongst others, Charles Widor in Paris (later also with Paul Dukas) and came to be professor (and later also director) of the conservatory of his city of birth. He composed a vast body of vocal music (*Do meu quadrante, Cantares, Velhos Cantares*, etc.), choral, for piano (*Três poemas em prosa, Paciências de Ana Maria, Bailadeiras, Harpa eólica*, etc.), chamber works (including a *String quartet* and a *Sonata* for violin and piano) and orchestral works (*Prelúdio, coral and fuga*, first performed in 1923 in Paris by the orchestra Colonne conducted by Pierné, *Portugalesas*, *Catavento*, for piano and small orchestra, the ballet *Nau Catrineta*). Especially influenced by French music of the 20's and 30's in *Khroma*, for viola and piano (1954), Cláudio Carneiro tried out twelve-tone formulas [*Catalogue* 1978 — and *Arte Musical* 1965].

Other personalities active between the 1930's and 60's were the teacher, conductor and composer Francine Benoît; the pianist, conductor and composer Jaime Silva (Jr.) and composers connected to popular musical theatre like Venceslau Pinto, Raul Portela and Raul Ferrão; the singers Tomás Alcaide, Guilherme Kjölner, Arminda Correia and Judite Lupi Freire; the pianists Helena Moreira de Sá e Costa, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Sérgio Varela Cid and

Sequeira Costa (instigator of the Viana da Mota International Competition in 1957) as well as Marie Antoinette Lévêque de Freitas Branco and Nella Maissa, respectively of French and Italian origin; the violinists Leonor Prado, Antonino David, Luís and Vasco Barbosa; the violist of Belgian origin François Broos; the cellist Madalena Costa; the flautist Luís Boulton; and the violinist and maestro Joaquim da Silva Pereira, who came to be director of the Orchestras of Radiodifusão Portuguesa (so-called since 1975) in Lisbon and Oporto; among chamber groups of stable format and more or less regular activity were the quartet of Luís Barbosa, the trio of Silva Pereira, the Academia de Instrumentistas de Câmara, the Quarteto de Lisboa (with piano) and the Porto String Quartet. At the same time with the impetus of radio and cinema in the fields of light song, musical theatre and fado, appeared extremely popular stars like Corina Freire, Beatriz Costa, Hermínia Silva, Alfredo Marceneiro and above all Amália Rodrigues who beginning her career in 1939, thanks to an exceptional interpretative charisma, won an international reputation without precedent in the history of fado.

The cult of patriotic and nationalistic values supported by the Estado Novo was particularly propitious for the valuation of the heritage of early music (especially the XVI and XVIII centuries): in the Conservatory, Ivo Cruz promoted the revival of early instruments (harpsichord, clavichord, viola, plucked instruments); at the same time from the 1930's Portuguese musicology experienced a considerable development (if not always free of narrowness of approach and ideological distortion), with the work of Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro, Manuel Joaquim and especially Macario Santiago Kastner, a researcher of English nationality living in Portugal from 1934. In the field of musical ethnographical studies stand out the English Rodney Gallop, Gonçalo Sampaio, Armando Leça, Vergílio Pereira, Rebelo Bonito, Margot and Jorge Dias, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, Lopes-Graça and Artur Santos [Castelo-Branco and Toscano, 1988].

Among the specialist publications between the 1930's and 1950's stand out *A arte musical*, founded by Luís de Freitas Branco in 1930 taken up again by his son João de Freitas Branco in 1958 as the mouthpiece of the Juventude Musical Portuguesa, and the *Gazeta musical* (later *Gazeta musical e de todas as artes*), organised from 1950 by Lopes-Graça, Francine Benoît, Maria Vitória Quintas and João José Cochofel, whose direction was originally also entrusted to Luís de Freitas Branco [Andrade, 1989: 48-50].

The Difficult Invention of The Present

The alterations in the structures of Portuguese cultural life in the mid-xx century are determined by various factors; the relative liberalization of the political regime undertaken by the government of Marcelo Caetano; the slow process of the opening of the country to the outside and the overcoming of the ideological and cultural isolationism of the decades between the 30's and 50's later hastened by the revolution of April 25th 1974; and on a more specifically musical plane by the generalization of the *mass media* — the radio (with its daily program of «classical» music, Antena 2), records, cinema and television (public broadcasts from 1957) — provoking the decline of amateur musical activity but equally a considerable broadening of the public's cultural references and the widespread diffusion of works, interpreters and current tastes.

On the level of the «noble» musical institutions should be noted the outline of renovation resulting from the nomination in 1970 as director of the São Carlos Theatre of João de Freitas Branco who however did not manage to have approved an organic legal project for the theatre (including the creation of a resident company and a private orchestra, the extension of operatic activity to other parts of the country and a linking with the Conservatory as well as the abolition of obligatory formal dress which as it happens was the only one of these measures to be approved and with restrictions [Vieira de Carvalho, 1984: 276-7]). Under his guidance the tendency towards an up-dating of the repertory was accentuated as was a movement towards a unified concept of music-theatrical production and the putting on of performances outside the traditional system of subscriptions thus giving access to a more diversified public. Called to government office in 1974, João de Freitas Branco would be succeeded in this post by João Paes; in 1980-81, the theatre was restructured as a public enterprise (with José Serra Formigal as president of the Administrative Council) and at the same time the Orchestra of the São Carlos Theatre was formed which partly absorbed the extinct Orquestra Filarmónica de Lisboa. In 1985, João de Freitas Branco returned to the theatre as artistic director and finally in 1988 a new Administrative Council was appointed whose actions appear directed towards a full internationalization of operatic activity in Portugal.

But the factor of greatest impact in shaping the actual form of Portuguese musical life would undoubtedly be the group of initia-

tives promoted in the field of music by the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (formed in 1956). With the impulse given by Madalena de Azeredo Perdigão, the wide ranging initiatives multiplied, like the Gulbenkian Festivals (1957-1970), the constitution of its own orchestra in 1962 (known as the Gulbenkian Orchestra from 1971), a professional chorus (1964) as well as a ballet group, the establishment of regular concert seasons in the halls built in the new seat of the Foundation (from 1970), the creation of the Gulbenkian Encounters for Contemporary Music (regularly from 1977), the Days of Early Music (from 1980), the department ACARTE (Animation, Creativity and Education for Art, from 1983) as well as the constitution of a commission of musicology (from which have come printed editions and recordings dedicated to the Portuguese musical heritage), support to various concert promoting entities and many initiatives in the field of musical education, the granting of scholarships to Portuguese students, the organization of composition courses and competitions (1965, 1968, 1971 and 1974), the commision of works by Portuguese and foreign composers, etc. In reality given the inertia or incapacity of official or private entities to sustain dynamizing initiatives in musical life (a situation that generally speaking has continued until today), it can be said that — with all the inevitable distortions resulting from a strong superstructure in a country of weak infrastructures — it is almost entirely thanks to the Gulbenkian Foundation that Lisbon can today be considered a relatively important musical centre on the European level, regularly participating on the international circuit of the greatest concert artists and symphonic and chamber groups of our time.

As for the Radio Orchestras of Lisbon and Oporto, after a painful period of decline which lasted until 1989, they are presently the target of a process of restructuring (in many aspects controversial), leading to the foundation until now of a new group of excellent quality (the Orchestra of Oporto) under the administration of a cooperative «régie», a model which briefly should be equally applied in Lisbon. In 1987, the maestro and composer Álvaro Cassuto organized, with the patronage of the President of the Republic and the support of private sponsors stimulated by the new Law of Cultural Sponsorship (1986), the Nova Filarmonia Portuguesa, the first experiment of its kind here.

In their turn the national and regional conservatories have undergone various attempts at reform since the early 1970's without always very conclusive results; the insufficiencies and limitations of

the educational structures (general and professional) continue to constitute, and probably will for a long time yet, the most difficult problem to be tackled in the Portuguese musical scene; in 1983 in the global context of revision of the structure of specialized schools were created two Higher Schools of Music in Lisbon and Oporto, cities which in every respect continue to be the centres of the musical life of the country (other establishments, official or officialized, exist in Braga, Aveiro, Espinho, Coimbra, Covilhã, Faro, Funchal, Ponta Delgada, etc.).

Summer festivals have also made a modest contribution to the decentralization and revitalizing of the musical life of the country: the most important and those of greatest tradition (Costa do Estoril, Sintra and Capuchos) are in the Lisbon region.

From the point of view of creation, the beginning of the 1960's very clearly marked a break in the technical and aesthetic orientation of the majority of Portuguese composers. Important names of earlier generations (Lopes-Graça, Joly Braga Santos) continued active without changing in their essence the defining lines of their respective languages. Composers like Vítor Macedo Pinto (1917-1964), Fernando Corrêa de Oliveira (b.1921) as well as Maria de Lurdes Martins (b.1926), Filipe de Sousa (b.1927) and Filipe Pires (b.1934), in a first phase make the transition from the last prolongations of a sometimes rather academic neoclassicism to compositional techniques more associated with European modernism of the 40's and 50's. But it is under the open influence of post-war avant-garde currents centering in particular on Darmstadt that composers like Álvaro Cassuto, Jorge Peixinho, Emanuel Nunes, Constança Capdeville and Álvaro Salazar, accompanied by Filipe Pires, emerge from the stagnant and faltering Portuguese musical panorama of the mid-century.

Álvaro Cassuto, born in Oporto in 1938, studied with Artur Santos and Lopes-Graça and in 1960 with a Gulbenkian Foundation scholarship attended the Darmstadt courses where he worked with Stockhausen, Ligeti and Messiaen, also studying conducting to which he came to devote himself intensely (especially in the United States). His debut as a composer was in the 1959 Sintra Festival with the *Sinfonia Breve n.º 1*, showing a more or less rigid twelve tone writing, opting in later works for a free atonalism that little by little came to incorporate aleatoric and stylistically retrospective elements. Among his most important works are, *In memorian Pedro de Freitas Branco, Evocações, To love and peace*, for orchestra and *Cro(mono)fonia* for twenty solo string instruments.

Filipe Pires, born in Lisbon in 1934, was a pupil of Artur Santos and Croner de Vasconcelos and began his career as a pianist. He was a state scholar in Hannover, nominated professor of composition in the Oporto Conservatory from 1960, attended with a Gulbenkian Foundation scholarship the courses at Darmstadt in 1963 and 1969, and spent a time with ORTF (Paris) where he came in contact with Pierre Schaeffer (1970-72); he also taught in the Lisbon Conservatory. In his own words (his) works composed before 1954 show the influence of neoclassical currents [...]. From 1958 (he) began a slow evolution leading two years later to the first experiments in twelve tone composition connected or not to serial techniques. With *Perspectivas* (1965), the serialization extends to metre and rhythm. From then on the formal construction, totally free from preconceived models, includes with more and more frequency aleatoric aspects. 1970 marked the beginning of a period dominated by electronic composition with marked recourse to «concrete» sources [*Catalogue*, 1978].

Recently Filipe Pires has been equally devoted to music-theatre. Main works: *String Quartet*, *Trio* for piano, violin and cello, *Regresso eterno* (for baritone or speaker and orchestra), *Akronos* (string orchestra), *Portugaliae Genesis* (baritone, choir and orchestra), *Canto ecuménico* (for electronic tape), *Variantes* (orchestra) and *Zoocratas* (musical theatre).

Revealed with a nucleus of innovatory works at the beginning of the 1960's (*Cinco pequenas peças* e *Sucessões simétricas* for piano, *Políptico* and *Sobreposições* for orchestra), centred on a radical research in timbre and form and flowing from the assimilation of European serial thought, Jorge Peixinho (born in Montijo in 1940), rapidly confirmed himself as the central figure of the avant-garde movement in Portugal. Participating in the Darmstadt courses from 1960, pupil of Boris Porena and Goffredo Petrassi in the Accademia di Santa Cecilia of Rome (with a Gulbenkian Foundation scholarship), of Boulez and Stockhausen in Basle and Luigi Nono in Venice, he has carried out an intensive activity as a composer, interpreter, professor (Lisbon Conservatory) and organizer of concerts: from his most abundant compositions, in which can be seen a progressive overcoming of serialist rigidity parallel to the absorption of aleatoric principles and of improvisation strategies stand out a group of works marked by a contesting political spirit not without resemblances to the militant art of a Nono (*CDE*, *Quatro peças para Setembro Negro*, *Morrer em Santiago* and *Elegia a Amílcar Cabral*, all dating

from the beginning of the 1970's); and also *A idade do ouro*, *As quatro estações*, *Ma fin est mon commencemente*, *Canto da sibila*, *Música em água e mármore*, *Lov II*, *Ciclo-valsa*, *O jardim de Belisa*, for instrumental ensemble, *Sucessões simétricas II and III*, *Voix*, *Mémoires-miroirs* (concerto for clavichord), *Concerto de Outono* (oboe and orchestra), for orchestral groups, *Eurídice reamada*, on texts by Herberto Hélder and E. Melo e Castro, for soloists, chorus and orchestra, works for piano, chorus, electro-acoustic music, etc. Equally as a result of Peixinho's action, in 1970, the Grupo de Música Contemporânea de Lisboa was founded, with a wide activity in Portugal and many of the principal foreign festivals of contemporary music, which came in turn to stimulate the creativity of some of its members, like Clotilde Rosa (*Encontro*, work distinguished by the International Tribune of Composers of UNESCO in 1976) and Lopes e Silva.

Emanuel Nunes was born in 1941 and settled in Paris in 1964. At the same time he attended the courses of Darmstadt (with Pousseur and Boulez) and of the High School of Music in Cologne (Pousseur and Stockhausen); from 1979, the composer alternately resides in Paris and Oeldorf (near Cologne). Many of his works were commissioned by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Radio-France and the French Ministry of Culture, with emphasis since 1965 on *Degrés*, for string trio, *Purlieu* (twenty one string instruments), *Dawn Wo* (wind ensemble), *Litanies du feu et de la mer* (piano), *Ruf* (orchestra and magnetic tape), *Tif'ereth* (6 soloists and 6 orchestral groups), *Musik der Frühe* (18 instruments), *Vislumbre* (chorus), *Grund* (flute and magnetic tape), *Wandlungen* (25 instruments and «live electronics») and *Clivages* (percussion). A spirit of an obsessive intellectual rigour, perceiving the musical experience as an esoteric act of initiation into a sound universe much influenced by stockhansen, Emanuel Nunes has today a place of distinction in the European musical scene.

From the mid 1960's the work of Constança Capdeville (b. 1937), of Catalan origin, also became known with *Diferenças sobre um intervalo* and *Momento I*, later evolving to a systematic exploration of the relations between sound and vision in musical performance in the direction of an instrumental, vocal and physical theatre (*Libera me*, *Esboços para um Stabat Mater*, *Double*, *Don't Juan*, *Doppiomaggio*, ... *Vocem meam*, *Amen para uma ausência*), for whose performance she created the group Colec Viva in 1985. Founder of the group Oficina Musical in Oporto (1978), Álvaro Salazar (b.

1938), especially known as conductor and teacher, is the author of works like *Glosa e fanfarra sobre uma fantasia de António Carreira*, *Palimpsestos*, *Ludi Officinales*, *Quadrivium* and *Taleae*. Also to be mentioned are Cândido Lima (b. 1939), particularly influenced by Xenakis, and António Vitorino de Almeida (b. 1940) whose career has developed somewhat apart from the institutionalised circuits of the avant-garde (*Prelúdios* for piano, *Concerto* for piano and orchestra, *Catedral da angústia*, the opera *Canto da ocidental praia*, etc.). Among the representatives of younger generations, Paulo Brandão, António Pinho Vargas and João Pedro Oliveira have distinguished themselves.

Almost all the composers mentioned are also performers. Among interpreters of the first rank have stood out in recent decades: as pianists, as well as Sequeira Costa, Tania Achot, Maria João Pires, Olga Prats, Pedro Burmester and Artur Pizarro; the violinist Gerardo Ribeiro, the violist Ana Bela Chaves, the cellist Maria José Falcão, the singers Elsa Saque, José Oliveira Lopes and Jennifer Smith; various groups including the Opus Ensemble, the Grupo de Metais de Lisboa, the Grupo de Música Vocal Contemporânea do Porto (directed by Mário Mateus) and the Segréis de Lisboa (directed by Manuel Morais), this last specializing in the performance of early Portuguese and European music.

In the context of the cultural opening and the broadening of the media in the Portugal of the 50's to the 70's, mention should be made of the (belated) spread of jazz (Hot Club founded in 1950), pop music and of rock (with the impact of the Festival de Vilar de Mouros, in 1971); in the early 1980's came a new phenomenon, the sudden appearance of a profusion of rock groups singing in Portuguese [Duarte, 1984]. In its turn opposition to the regime before 1974 created a wave of political song (represented with special consistency by José Afonso) [Correia, 1984], while other forms of «light» song (the so-called «nacional-cançonetismo», today reviving as a «kitsch» phenomenon) created in the 60's new stars of radio and television at the same time as the tradition of the «Portuguese revue», already from the 20's and 30's limited to the Parque Mayer, fell into decline [Pavão dos Santos, 1978]. Fado, looked upon with mistrust by the more radical post 1974 ideological currents, has managed to adapt to the times and survives confidently, protected by new generations of interpreters (especially Carlos do Carmo). At the same time was revealed the great talent of the guitarist Carlos Paredes, who gave the Portuguese guitar a projection it had never before attained.

An important effort for the uncovering and reappraisal of the musical heritage has been carried out by various entities, among them the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Music Section of the Secretaria de Estado da Cultura and the Department of Musicology of the Instituto Português do Património Cultural. The inclusion of musicology, from 1980, in the framework of university studies, with the foundation of the Department of Musical Sciences of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, allows hope for a development of this discipline along more consistent lines than before, an evolution which it is to be hoped will come to be equally reflected in a wider knowledge within and outside the country, of the most relevant aspects of Portuguese musical culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

«Abriss»

1883, «Abriss der Geschichte der portugiesischen Musik von Dr. Platon von Waxel», *in* MENDEL, H. and REISSMANN, A. (ed.), *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, Ergänzungsbande, Berlin: Robert Oppenheim.

ALEGRIA, JOSÉ AUGUSTO:

1957, Preface to *Mateus de Aranda: Tractado de Cãto Llano*, Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura.

1968, *A Problemática Musical das Cantigas de Amigo*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1973, *História da Escola de Música da Sé de Évora*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1977, *Biblioteca Pública de Évora: Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1978, Preface to *Mateus de Aranda: Tractado de Canto Mensurable*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1982, Preface to *João Lourenço Rebelo (1610-1661): Psalmi, tum Vesperarum, tum Completorii. Item Magnificat, Lamentationes et Miserere*, 4 vols., «Portugaliae Musica», vol. XXXIX, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1983, *Fr. Manuel Cardoso, Compositor Português* (1566-1650), Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

1983a, *História da Capela e Colégio dos Santos Reis de Vila Viçosa*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1984, *Polifonistas Portugueses: Duarte Lobo, Filipe de Magalhães, Francisco Martins*, Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

1985, *O Ensino e Prática da Música nas Sés de Portugal*, Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

ALMEIDA, FIALHO DE — 1893, «Centenário do Teatro de S. Carlos [...]», in *Os Gatos*, vol. VI, Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1933 (reed.), pp. 263-270.

ALVARENGA, JOÃO PEDRO D'

1986, *A «Missa Pro Defunctis» do Mestre Lourenço Ribeiro: Proposta da sua Transcrição em Notação Moderna*. An essay submitted to the Department of Musical Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, unpublished.

1988, «A Música Litúrgica na Sé de Braga no Século XVI: Observações sobre o Conhecimento Actual», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 58 (July-September), pp. 38-47.

AMORIM, Eugénio — 1935, *Dicionário Biográfico de Músicos do Norte de Portugal*, Oporto: Marânus.

ANDRADE, Isabel Freire de — 1989, «Edições Periódicas de Música e Periódicos Musicais em Portugal», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 62 (July-September), pp. 47-50.

ANDRADE, Mário de — 1930, *Modinhas Imperiais*, Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1980 (reed.).

ANDRADE FERREIRA, José Maria de — 1872, *Literatura, Música e Belas-Artes*, vol. II, Lisbon: Roland & Semiond.

Anos 40

1982, *Os Anos 40 na Arte Portuguesa*, 6 vols., Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (esp. I, pp. 175-181; pp. 174-177; III and VI).

APPLEBY, David P. — 1983, *The Music of Brazil*, Austin: The University of Texas Press.

ARAÚJO, Mozart de — 1963, *A Modinha e o Lundu no Século XVIII*, São Paulo: Ricordi Brasileira.

ARROYO, António:

1897, «Viana da Mota: Sinfonia à Pátria» [program notes for the concert of May 5]. Oporto: Orpheon Portuense, pp. 2-8.

1917, *Singularidades da Minha Terra (na Arte e na Mística)*, Oporto: Renascença Portuguesa.

Arte Musical

1965, *Arte Musical* (issue dedicated to Cláudio Carneiro), 3rd series, II, 24.

ÁVILA, Humberto d':

1962, «António José do Rego, uma Figura Esquecida da Música Portuguesa e a Instituição de uma Ópera Nacional», Printout from *Arte Musical*, 3rd. series, 15 and 16-17.

1986, «Claros e Escuros na História da Fundação do Conservatório de Lisboa», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 48 (January-March), pp. 36-39.

1986a, «Vida e Obra de Almeida Mota. Revisão e Estado Actual das Investigações», in *Colóquio-Artes* 68, pp. 54-57.

AZEVEDO, João Manuel Borges de — 1986, *Uma Tablatura para Guitarra Barroca: o Livro do Conde de Redondo*, Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Cultural.

BALBI, Adrien — 1822, *Essai Statistique sur le Royaume de Portugal et d'Algarve [...]*, 2 vols., Paris: Chez Rey et Gravier.

BARBOSA, Maria Augusta Alves — 1977, *Vincentius Lusitanus: Ein portugiesischer Komponist und Musiktheoretiker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural.

BATALHA REIS, Pedro — 1945, *Liszt na Sua Passagem por Lisboa em 1845*, Lisbon: Sassetti.

BECKFORD, William — 1787-88, *Diário de William Beckford em Portugal e Espanha*, ed. by Boyd Alexander, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983 (translation by João Gaspar Simões).

BENEVIDES, Francisco da Fonseca — 1883 and 1902, *O Real Teatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa*, 2 vols., Lisbon: Castro Irmão & Ricardo de Sousa e Sales.

BETTENCOURT DA CÂMARA, José Manuel — 1987, *A Música para Piano de Francisco de Lacerda*, Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

BLANC PORTUGAL, José — 1947, «Relance sobre a Música no Século xix Português, com Ocasionais Referências à Música em 'Os Maias' de Eça de Queiroz», in *Atlântico Nova Série*, 3, pp. 62-69.

BORBA, Tomás, and LOPES-GRAÇA, Fernando — 1956 and 1958, *Dicionário de Música*, 2 vols., Lisbon: Cosmos.

BORGES, Armindo — 1986, *Duarte Lobo (156?-1646): Studien zum Leben uns Schaffen des portugiesischen Komponisten*, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag.

BRITO, Manuel Carlos de:

1978, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century: A Preliminary Report*, n. ed.

1984, «Musicology in Portugal since 1960», in *Acta Musicológica*, lvi, 1, pp. 29-47.

1989, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1989a, *Estudos de História da Música em Portugal*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa.

BRITO, Manuel Carlos de, and CRANMER, David — 1990, *Crónicas da Vida Musical Portuguesa na Primeira Metade do Século XIX*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.

BUESCU, Maria Leonor Carvalhão — 1990, *Literatura Portuguesa Medieval*, Lisbon: Universidade Aberta.

CARREIRA, Xoan Manuel — 1988, «Refléxión Biográfica sobre Juan Pedro Almeyda Mota», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 58 (July-September), pp. 62-66.

CARVALHAIS, Manuel Peixoto de Almeida — 1910 and 1916, *Marcos Portugal na sua Música Dramática*, Lisbon: Castro Irmão.

CASTELO-BRANCO, Salwa, and TOSCANO, Manuela — 1988, «In Search of a Lost World: An Overview of Documentation and Research on the Traditional Music of Portugal», in *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, International Council for Traditional Music, 20, pp. 158-192.

CASTILHO, António Feliciano de — 1846, *O Presbitério da Montanha*, vol. i, Lisbon: Empresa da História de Portugal, 1905 (reed.).

Catálogo

1978, *Catálogo Geral da Música Portuguesa. Repertório Contemporâneo*, Lisbon: Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural.

CERONE, Domenico Pietro — 1613, *El Melopeo y Maestro*, Naples: Giovanni Battista Gargano & Lucrezio Nucci.

CIDRAIS, Maria Fernanda — 1986, «Francisco de Lacerda: Um Grande Músico Português», in *Colóquio-Artes*, 69, pp. 59-64.

CORBIN, Solange — 1952, *Essai sur la Musique Réligieuse Portugaise au Moyen Âge (1100-1385)*, Paris: Société d'Éditions Les Belles Lettres.

CORREIA, Mário — 1984, *Música Popular Portuguesa: Um Ponto de Partida*, Coimbra: Centelha/Mundo da Canção.

COSTA, M. Gonçalves da — 1976, *Organistas e Mestres de Capela da Catedral de Lamego*, Lamego: n. ed.

CRANMER, David — 1989, «As Primeiras Execuções em Portugal das Óperas de Mozart», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 62 (July-September), pp. 25-27.

CRUZ, António Augusto Ferreira da, and PIMENTEL, Carlos Ferreira — 1937, *Inventário dos Inéditos e Impressos Musicais: Subsídios para Um Catálogo*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.

CRUZ, Ivo — 1985, *O Que Fiz e o Que não Fiz*, Lisbon: n. ed.

CRUZ, Maria Antonieta de Lima — 1955, *História da Música Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Dois Continentes.

CYMBRON, Luisa — 1990, *Francisco de Sá Noronha e l'Arco di Sant'Ana: Para o Estudo da Ópera em Portugal (1860-70)*, Master's thesis, Department of Musical Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

DIAS, João José Alves — 1982, *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte: Livro da Cartuxa*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa.

Dicionário

1963-71, *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, ed. by Joel Serrão, 4 vols., Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais.

DODERER, Gerhard:

1971, *Clavicórdios Portugueses do Século XVIII*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1974, «Instrumentos de Tecla Portugueses no Século xviii», in *Actas do Colóquio «A Arte em Portugal no Século XVIII»*, Bracara Augusta, xxviii, 65-66 (77-78), pp. 439-446.

1974a, Preface to *Obras Selectas para Orgão: Ms 964 da Biblioteca Pública de Braga*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xxv, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1978, *Orgelmusik und Orgelbau im Portugal des 17. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchungen an Hand des MS 964 der Biblioteca Pública de Braga*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider.

1984, Preface to *Modinhas Luso-Brasileiras*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xliv, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1988, «A Função do Órgão na Liturgia Portuguesa do Século xvii», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 58 (July-September), pp. 58-63.

1989, «Jayme de la Té y Sagau e as suas 'Cantatas Humanas', Lisboa 1715-26», in *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas*, 3, pp. 141-183.

DODERER, Gerhard, and ROSADO FERNANDES, Cremilde — 1980, Preface to *João Rodrigues Esteves (Séc. XVIII): Obras Selectas*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xxxiii, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

DODERER, Gerhard, *et al.* — 1989, «Música e Músicos Ibéricos dos Séculos xvi e xvii», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 60 (January-March), pp. 5-14 and 61 (April-June), pp. 12-26.

DUARTE, António A. — 1984, *A Arte Eléctrica de Ser Português: 25 Anos de Rock em Portugal*, Lisbon: Bertrand.

Enciclopédia

1954-62, *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, Rome: Le Maschere.

Encontros

1977, *Encontros Gulbenkian de Música Contemporânea*, Programs.

Evolução

1947, *A Evolução e o Espírito do Teatro em Portugal*, 2nd. series, Lisbon: Editorial Século.

FARIA, Francisco — 1977, *Quatro Responsórios de Natal de D. Pedro da Esperança*. Printout from *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, 33.

FERNANDES, António — 1626, *Arte de Mvsica de Canto Dorgam, e Canto Cham*, Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck.

FERNANDES, Cremilde Rosado — 1963, Preface to *João da Costa de Lisboa: Tenção*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. VIII, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

FERNANDEZ DE LA CUESTA, Ismael — 1983, *Historia de la Música Española*, vol. I, *Desde los Orígenes hasta el «Ars Nova»*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Fernando Lopes-Graça

1981, *Fernando Lopes-Graça: 75.º Aniversário*. Printout from *Vértice*, pp. 444-445.

FERREIRA, Manuel Pedro — 1986, *O Som de Martin Codax*, Lisbon: Unysis/Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.

FERREIRA DE CASTRO, Paulo:

(In print), «Nacionalismo Musical ou os Equívocos da Portugalidade», in *Actas do Colóquio «Cross-Cultural Processes in Music: The Role of Portugal in the World's Music since the Fifteenth Century»*, ed. by Salwa Castelo-Branco, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

(In prep.), «Saudades do Renascimento: Sobre a Noção de Modernidade em Luís de Freitas Branco», in *Actas do Colóquio «Modernidade e Mudança na Música Portuguesa»*, Lisbon: Department of Musical Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

FERRO, António — 1948, *Política do Espírito: Apontamentos para Uma Exposição*, Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional da Informação.

«Ficha Biobibliográfica»

1980, «Ficha Biobibliográfica do Maestro Frederico de Freitas», in *Canto Gregoriano*, 94.

FRANÇA, José-Augusto:

1974, *O Romantismo em Portugal: Estudo de Factos Sócio-Culturais*, 6 vols. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte (esp. vol. II, pp. 431-452).

1979, *A Arte Portuguesa de Oitocentos*, Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

FRANCISCO DE LACERDA — 1969, *Francisco de Lacerda* (Catalogue of) Exposição Comemorativa do 1.º Centenário do Nascimento, Lisbon: XIII Festival Gulbenkian de Música.

FREITAS, Frederico de — 1974, «A Modinha Portuguesa e Brasileira (Alguns Aspectos do Seu Particular Interesse Musical)», in *Actas do Congresso «A Arte em Portugal no Século xviii»*, *Bracara Augusta*, xxviii, 65-66 (77-78), pp. 433-438.

FREITAS BRANCO, João de:

1959, *História da Música Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América.
1960, *Alguns Aspectos da Música Portuguesa Contemporânea*, Lisbon: Ática.
1964, «Acerca da Música Portuguesa Contemporânea, de Reticências Que Se Lhe Aplicam e de Audições Que Muito Lhe Faltam», in Claude Samuel, *Panorama da Arte Musical Contemporânea*, Lisbon: Estúdios Cor, pp. 426-440.
1975, «Luis de Freitas Branco: Aspectos menos Conhecidos duma Mentalidade e duma Evolução», in *Colóquio-Artes*, 23, pp. 42-52.
1982, «A Música em Portugal nos Anos 40»; v. *Anos 40*, vi, pp. 54-75.
1987, *Viana da Mota: Uma Contribuição para o Estudo da Sua Personalidade e da Sua Obra*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1989, «Homenagem à Memória de Joly Braga Santos: Recordações Amplificadas», in *São Carlos Revista* 9, pp. 29-41.

FREITAS BRANCO, Luís de:

1916, «Música e Instrumentos», in *A Questão Ibérica*, Lisbon: Almeida, Miranda e Sousa, pp. 119-143.
1929, *A Música em Portugal*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Exposição Portuguesa em Sevilha.
1943, *História Popular da Música: Desde as Origens até à Actualidade*, Lisbon: Cosmos.
1956, «Mozart e Portugal», in *Segundo Centenário do Nascimento de W. A. Mozart*, Lisbon: Teatro Nacional de São Carlos/Instituto de Alta Cultura.

GOMEZ, Maria del Carmen — 1987, «Les Musiciens du Roi de Portugal: Une Mention de Jacquemart le Cuvelier», in *Revue de Musicologie*, 73/1, pp. 101-106.

Grande Enciclopédia

[1935-1960], *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Lisbon: Editorial Enciclopédia.

GUIMARÃES, Bertino Daciano:

1943, *A Propósito do Pianista e Compositor Miguel Ângelo Pereira*, Barcelos: Câmara Municipal/Companhia Editora do Minho.
1947, *Primeiro Esboço de Uma Bibliografia Musical Portuguesa, com Uma Breve Notícia Histórica da Música no Nosso País*, Oporto: Imprensa Portuguesa.

«Historiografia»

1988, «A Historiografia Musical Portuguesa» [round table], in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 58 (July-September), pp. 7-16.

Homenagem

1975, «Homenagem a Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos, 1910-1974», in *Colóquio-Artes* 25, pp. 59-72.

1989, *Homenagem a Joly Braga Santos*, Lisbon: Os Amigos do São Carlos.

HORCH, Rosemarie Erika — 1969, *Vilancicos da Colecção Barbosa Machado*, Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional.

In Memoriam

1947, *In Memoriam Bernardo V. Moreira de Sá*, Oporto: Livraria Tavares Martins.

JOAQUIM, Manuel:

1944, *Nótulas sobre a Música na Sé de Viseu*, Viseu: Junta da Província da Beira Alta.

1945, Preface to *Composições Polifónicas de Duarte Lobo. Vol. I Magnificat*, Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura.

1953, *Vinte Livros de Música Polifónica do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa*, Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança.

1961, Preface to *Estêvão Lopes Morago: Várias Obras de Música Religiosa*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. IV, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

JORGE, Leonardo — 1968, *António Fragoso: Um Génio Feito Saudade*, Rio de Janeiro: Livros de Portugal.

KASTNER, Macario Santiago:

1936, *Música Hispânica: O Estilo do Padre Manuel Rodrigues Coelho. A Interpretação da Música para Tecla desde 1450 até 1650*, Lisbon: Ática.

1941, *Contribución al Estudio de la Musica Española y Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Ática.

1947, *Carlos de Seixas*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora.

1969, Preface to *Antologia de Organistas do Século XVI*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. XIX, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1979, *Três Compositores Lusitanos para Instrumentos de Tecla: António Carreira, Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, Pedro de Araújo*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1983, Preface to *António da Silva Leite (1759-1833): Estudos de Guitarra*, Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Cultural.

LACERDA, Aarão de:

s.d. and 1917 *Crónicas de Arte*, 2 vols., Oporto: Renascença Portuguesa.

1934, «Arte: b) Escultura, Pintura e Artes Decorativas», in *História de Portugal*, vol. VI, Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, pp. 601-624.

LAMBERTINI, Miguel Ângelo:

[1902], *Chansons et Instruments: Renseignements pour l'Étude du Folklore Portugais*, Lisbon: Lambertini.

1914, «Portugal», in *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, 1ère partie, «Histoire de la Musique», vol. IV, Paris: Delagrave, pp. 2401-2469.

LEAL, Luís Pereira — 1975, Preface to *Filipe de Magalhães: Liber Missarum*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xxvii, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
LOPES, Francisco Fernandes — 1946, «A Música em Portugal», in *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para os Portugueses Ausentes*, Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional da Informação, pp. 395-418.
LOPES-GRAÇA, Fernando:

1944, *A Música Portuguesa e os Seus Problemas*, vol. i, Oporto: Lopes da Silva.
1949, *Viana da Mota: Subsídios para Uma Biografia Incluindo 22 Cartas ao Autor*, Lisbon: Sá da Costa.
1959, *A Música Portuguesa e os Seus Problemas*, vol. ii, Lisbon: Caminho, 1989 (reed.).
1973, *A Música Portuguesa e os Seus Problemas*, vol. iii, Lisbon: Cosmos.

Luis de Freitas Branco

1975, *Luis de Freitas Branco* [Catalogue of the Commemorative Exhibition on the 20th Anniversary of his Death], Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

MACHADO, Júlio César — 1875, *Os Teatros de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Matos Moreira e Cia.
MACÍAS, Enrique X. — 1991, «Passus: Esbozo para una Aproximación al Universo Creativo de Emmanuel Nunes», in *Colóquio-Artes* 88, pp. 54-62.
MAGALHÃES BASTO, A. de:

1963, «Da Música no Porto no Século XVIII», in *O Tripeiro*, 6th series, iii, 3, pp. 65-67.
1963a, «Música e Músicos Portugueses no Século xix», in *O Tripeiro*, 6th series, iii, 4, 97-99.

MARQUES, Joaquim José — 1947, *Cronologia da Ópera em Portugal*, Lisbon: A Artística.
MATTOSO, José — 1985, «Cluny, Ordem de», in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. i, Lisbon: Alfa, p. 131.
MAZZA, José — 1944-45, *Diccionario Biographico de Musicos Portuguezes* (códice C×IV/1-26 da Biblioteca Pública de Évora), ed. José Augusto Alegria. Printout from *Ocidente*.
MERÊA, Adriano — 1943, *Crónicas Musicais* [1901-1925], Barcelos: Companhia Editora do Minho.
MGG — V. *Musik*.
MORAIS, Manuel:

1975, «Uma Viola Portuguesa do Século xvi», in *Colóquio-Artes*, 2nd. series, 21 (February).
1977, Preface to *Cancioneiro Musical d'Elvas*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xxxi, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1986, Preface to *Vilancetes, Cantigas e Romances do Século XVI*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xlvii, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1988, Preface to *Música Portuguesa Maneirista: Cancioneiro Musical de Belém*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.

MOREAU, Mário — 1981 and 1984, *Cantores de Ŏpera Portugueses*, 2 vols., Lisbon: Bertrand.

MOREIRA, Alberto — 1956, *Miguel Ângelo: Esboço Biográfico do Talentoso Maestro e Compositor «Portuense»*, Oporto: Empresa Guedes.

Musik

1949, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter.

NEMÉSIO, Vitorino — 1969, «Cronologia Biográfica de Francisco de Lacerda»: v. *Francisco de Lacerda*.

NERY, Rui Vieira:

1980, *Para a História do Barroco Musical Português: O COD 8942 da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1984, *A Música no Ciclo da «Bibliotheca Lusitana»*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1985, «Review of Doderer, 1984», in *Latin-American Music Review*, VI, 2, pp. 282-292.

1985a, «New Sources for the Study of Portuguese Seventeenth-Century Consort Music», in *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 22 (December), pp. 9-28.

1990, *The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604-1656): A Study of Iberian Music Repertoire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ph. D. Dissertation in Musicology, The University of Texas at Austin.

1990a, «Italian Models and Problems of Periodization in Portuguese Baroque Music», in *Routes du Baroque: La Contribution du Baroque à la Pensée et à l'Art Européens*, Lisbon: Conselho da Europa/Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, pp. 217-223.

(In print), «António Carreira, O Velho, Fr. António Carreira e António Carreira, O Moço: Balanço de um Enigma por Resolver», in *Miscelânea de Homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

New Grove

1980, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: MacMillan.

NEWMAN, William S.:

1963, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, New York: Norton.

1963a, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, New York: Norton.

OLIVEIRA, Cristóvão Rodrigues de — 1987, *Lisboa em 1551*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, reprint of *Summario ẽ qve brevemente se contem algvas covsas (assi ecclesiasticas como secvlares) qve ha na cidade de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1554?

OLIVEIRA MARQUES, António Henrique de:

1981, *Guia de História da 1.ª República Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa.

1986, *História de Portugal*, vol. III, Lisbon: Palas Editores.

Oscar da Silva

1937, *Oscar da Silva através da sua Crítica*, S. l.: s. ed.

PAES, João — 1963-64, «Resenha Cronológica da Carreira de Pedro de Freitas Branco», in *Arte Musical*, 3rd series, II, 20-21-22, pp. 389-462.
PAVÃO DOS SANTOS, Vítor — 1978, *A Revista à Portuguesa; Uma História Breve do Teatro de Revista*, Lisbon: O Jornal.
PEREIRA, José Fernandes — 1986, *Arquitectura Barroca em Portugal*, Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.
PINHO, Ernesto Gonçalves:

1981, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Centro de Actividade Musical nos Séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1989, *Dom Pedro de Cristo (+ 1618): O Compositor e a Obra*, unpublished.

PINTO (SACAVÉM), Alfredo:

1913, *Horas d'Arte: Palestras sobre Música*, Lisbon: Férin, Baptista, Torres e Cia.
1930, *Música Moderna Portuguesa e os seus Representantes*, Lisbon: Férin.

PROENÇA, Raul (ed.) — 1924, *Guia de Portugal*, vol. I, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
QUENTAL, Antero de — 1866, «O Futuro da Música», in *O Instituto*, XIII, 10, pp. 234-40 (reprint Barcelos: R.V., 1985).
QUEROL GAVALDÁ, Miguel:

1970, Preface to *Musica Barroca Española. Vol. I: Polifonia Profana*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología.
1975, Preface to *Manuel Machado: Romances e Canções a 3 e 4 Vozes Mistas*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. XXVIII, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

RAMOS, Manuel — 1892, *A Música Portuguesa*, Oporto: Imprensa Portuguesa.
REBELLO, Luiz Francisco:

1972, *História do Teatro Português*, Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América.
1984, *História do Teatro de Revista em Portugal*, vol. I, Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote.

REES, Owen — 1989 *«Choros pera Tragedias»: Music for the Neo-Latin Theatre in Sixteenth-Century Portugal*, unpublished.
REESE, Gustave — 1954, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York: Norton.
RIBEIRO, Joaquim Silvestre — 1873 and 1876, *História dos Estabelecimentos Científicos, Literários e Artísticos de Portugal nos Sucessivos Reinados da Monarquia*, Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, vols. III and VI.
RIBEIRO, Manuel — 1939, *Quadros Históricos da Vida Musical Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Sassetti.
RUBIO, Samuel — 1983, *Historia de la Música Española. Vol. II: Desde el «Ars Nova» hasta 1600*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
SALVINI, Gustavo Romanoff — 1859, Preface to *Romanceiro Musical*, Paris: s. ed.

SAMPAIO RIBEIRO, MÁRIO DE:

1936, *A Música em Portugal nos Séculos XVIII e XIX: Bosquejo de História Crítica*. Lisbon: Inácio Pereira Rosa.
1943, *Aspectos Musicais da Exposição de «Os Primitivos Portugueses»*, Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura.
1962, «A Arte de Cantollano» de Autor Desconhecido (R 14670) da Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid e a *Arte* de Juan Martínez», in *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 26, pp. 362-388.
1962a, «Joaquim Casimiro Júnior», Printout from *Arte Musical*, 18.
1965, Preface to *D. João IV: Defensa de la Música Moderna contra la Errada Opinión del Obispo Cyrilo Franco*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.

SANCHEZ ROMERALO, ANTÓNIO — 1969, *El Villancico: Estudio sobre la Lírica Popular en los Siglos XV y XVI*, Madrid: Gredos.
SARAIVA, ANTÓNIO JOSÉ, and LOPES, ÓSCAR — 1975, *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, 8.ª ed., Oporto: Porto Editora.
SARRAUTTE, JEAN-PAUL:

1970, *Catálogo das Obras de João Domingos Bomtempo*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1979, *Marcos Portugal: Ensaios*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

SASPORTES, JOSÉ:

1970, *História da Dança em Portugal*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1979, *Marcos Portugal: Ensaios*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

SASPORTES, JOSÉ:

1970, *História da Dança em Portugal*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
1979, *Trajectória da Dança Teatral em Portugal*, Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

SCARNECCHIA, PAOLO (ed.) — 1988, *La Musica in Portogallo*, Rome: CIDIM.
SCHERPEREEL, JOSEPH — 1985, *A Orquestra e os Instrumentistas da Real Câmara de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
SEQUEIRA, GUSTAVO DE MATOS — 1933, *Teatro de Outros Tempos: Elementos para a História do Teatro Português*, Lisbon: Ottosgráfica.
SERRÃO, JOEL — v. *Dicionário*.
SERRÃO, VÍTOR:

1983, *O Maneirismo e o Estatuto Social dos Pintores Portugueses*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
1989, *Estudos de Pintura Maneirista e Barroca*, Lisbon: Caminho.

«Sonata»

1942, «Sonata» (program notes to the concert of 28-XII-42).

SOUSA, FILIPE DE — 1974, «A Música Orquestral Portuguesa no Século XVIII», in *Actas do Congresso «A Arte em Portugal no Século XVIII»*, *Bracara Augusta*, XXVIII, 65-66 (77-78), pp. 405-412.

SOUSA BASTOS, António:

1898, *Carteira do Artista: Apontamentos para a História do Teatro Português e Brasileiro*, Lisbon: Antiga Casa Bertrand-José Bastos.

1908, *Dicionário do Teatro Português*, Lisbon: Imprensa Libânio da Silva.

SPEER, Klaus — 1967, Preface to *Fr. Roque da Conceição: Livro de Obras de Orgão*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xi, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

STEVENSON, Robert:

1966, *Portuguese Music and Musicians Abroad (to 1650)*, Lima: s. ed.

1976, Preface to *Vilancicos Portugueses*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xxix, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

1982, Preface to *Antologia de Polifonia Portuguesa*, «Portugaliae Musica», vol. xxxvii, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

STRUNK, Oliver — 1965, *Source Readings in Music History: The Renaissance*, New York: Norton.

TEIXEIRA, José — 1986, *D. Fernando II: Rei-Artista, Artista-Rei*, Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança.

THIBAULT, Geneviève — 196?, «La Chanson Française au XV^eSiècle de Dufay à Josquin des Prés (1420 à 1480)», in *Histoire de la Musique*, vol. i, Paris: Encyclopédie de la Plêiade, pp. 890-983.

VASCONCELOS, Joaquim de— 1870, *Os Músicos Portugueses: Biografia-Bibliografia*, 2 vols., Oporto: Imprensa Portuguesa.

VIANA DA MOTA, José — 1941, *Música e Músicos Alemães*, Coimbra: Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra (reprint 1947).

VIEIRA, Ernesto — 1900, *Dicionário Biográfico de Músicos Portugueses*, 2 vols., Lisbon: Lambertini.

VIEIRA DE CARVALHO, Mário de:

1984, *«Pensar é Morrer» ou a Ópera de Lisboa (Teatro de São Carlos) na Mutação de Sistemas Sócio-Comunicativos de Fins do Século XVIII aos nossos Dias*, Doctoral Dissertation, School of Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin.

1987, «Eça de Queirós e a Ópera no Século xix em Portugal», in *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, 52 (January-March), pp. 44-48.

1989, *O Essencial sobre Fernando Lopes-Graça*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.

VITERBO, Francisco Marques de Sousa — 1932, *Subsídios para a História da Música em Portugal*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.

WALTHER, Johann Gottfried — 1732, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek*, Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer.

WAXEL, Platon Lvovitch von: V. *Abriss*.

WOLFF, Robert Erich — 1963, «Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque: Three Styles, Three Periods», in *Les Colloques de Wégimont, IV: Le Baroque Musical (1957)*, Paris: Société d'Éditions Les Belles Lettres, pp. 35-80.

INDEX

Introduction 7

PART ONE

by
Rui Vieira Nery

CHAPTER I
FROM THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD TO THE RENAISSANCE

1.1 — The Medieval Antecedents:

The Liturgical Musical Organization 11
The Secular Repertory 16

1.2 — The Generalization of Polyphonic Practice:

The Origins of Polyphony 18
The Royal Chapel 20
Music at the Court 24

1.3 — Renaissance Polyphony:

The Secular Song-Books 27
Sacred Polyphony in Évora: from Pedro do Porto to the Cathedral School 31
Sacred Polyphony in other Cathedrals 34
Other Centres of Polyphonic Activity 38
Instrumental Music 41

CHAPTER II
THE MANNERIST PERIOD

2.1 — The Birth of Portuguese Musical Mannerism 46
2.2 — The Main Schools of Sacred Polyphony:

The Musical Impact of the Counter-Reformation 49
The High-Point of the Évora School 52
Polyphonic Music in Others Institutions 58

2.3 — The Instrumental Repertory 63
2.4 — From the Last Song-Books to the Sacred Villancico 69

CHAPTER III
THE BAROQUE PERIOD

3.1 — The Indigenous Baroque of the 18th Century:

From Mannerism to the Early Baroque 75
The End of a Tradition 79

3.2 — The Baroque in the Reign of D. João V:

Absolutism and Ecclesiastical Culture 83
The Roman Style in Sacred Music 86
The Rise of Opera 90
Dance and Instrumental Music 93

3.3 — The Late Baroque and the Post-Baroque:

Opera and Sacred Music in the Reigns of D. José I and D. Maria I 97
The Development of Instrumental Genres 105

PART TWO

by
Paulo Ferreira de Castro

CHAPTER IV
FROM THE END OF THE ANCIEN REGIME TO THE ROOTS OF MODERNITY

The Rejected Century 111
The Crisis of Court Music and the Vitality of Opera 115
Public and Private Taste 122
«Castiços» and «Estrangeirados» 128
The Era of Reforms and Illusions 132
Romanticism and Nationalist Aspiration 138

CHAPTER V
THE XX CENTURY

«Common Sense and Good Taste» 146
Fin de Siècle and Modernism 152
From Propaganda to Resistance 163
The Difficult Invention of the Present 174

Bibliography 181

This edition of
HISTORY OF MUSIC
by Rui Vieira Nery
and Paulo Ferreira de Castro
from the collection
Synthesis of Portuguese Culture
Europália 91 — Portugal
was composed and printed
by *Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda*
in Lisbon.
Graphic orientation: Julieta Matos — INCM
Cover: Lígia Pinto
with a detailed reproduction of
A Virgem, o Menino e Anjos
by Gregório Lopes, 1st half of the 16th century
at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

This work was printed in October
nineteen ninety-one.

ED. 21 110 653
COD. 220 031 000
DEP. LEGAL NO. 50 820/91
ISBN-972-27-0438-9
ISBN-972-27-0449-4

SYNTHESIS OF PORTUGUESE CULTURE

PORTUGAL – INSTITUTIONS AND FACTS
Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL
A. H. de Oliveira Marques

HISTORY OF LITERATURE
Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu

SCIENCE IN PORTUGAL
Coordination by
José Mariano Gago

HISTORY OF PLASTIC ARTS
Maria Adelaide Miranda
Vítor Serrão
José Alberto Gomes Machado
Raquel Henriques da Silva

ARCHITECTURE
José Manuel Fernandes, Architect

HISTORY OF MUSIC
Rui Vieira Nery
Paulo Ferreira de Castro

HISTORY OF DANCE
José Sasportes
António Pinto Ribeiro

HISTORY OF THEATRE
Luiz Francisco Rebello

STORIES OF THE CINEMA
João Bénard da Costa

A HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY
António Sena

SYNTHESIS

a set of texts that, according
to a simultaneously theoretical
and historical perspective, help to identify
the main features of a culture

PORTUGUESE CULTURE

in a language spoken on the various
continents of the world, an intellectual
and artistic content, deeply rooted
in the european memory

SO-EPS-679

SPONSORED BY

CAIXA GERAL DE DEPÓSITOS